

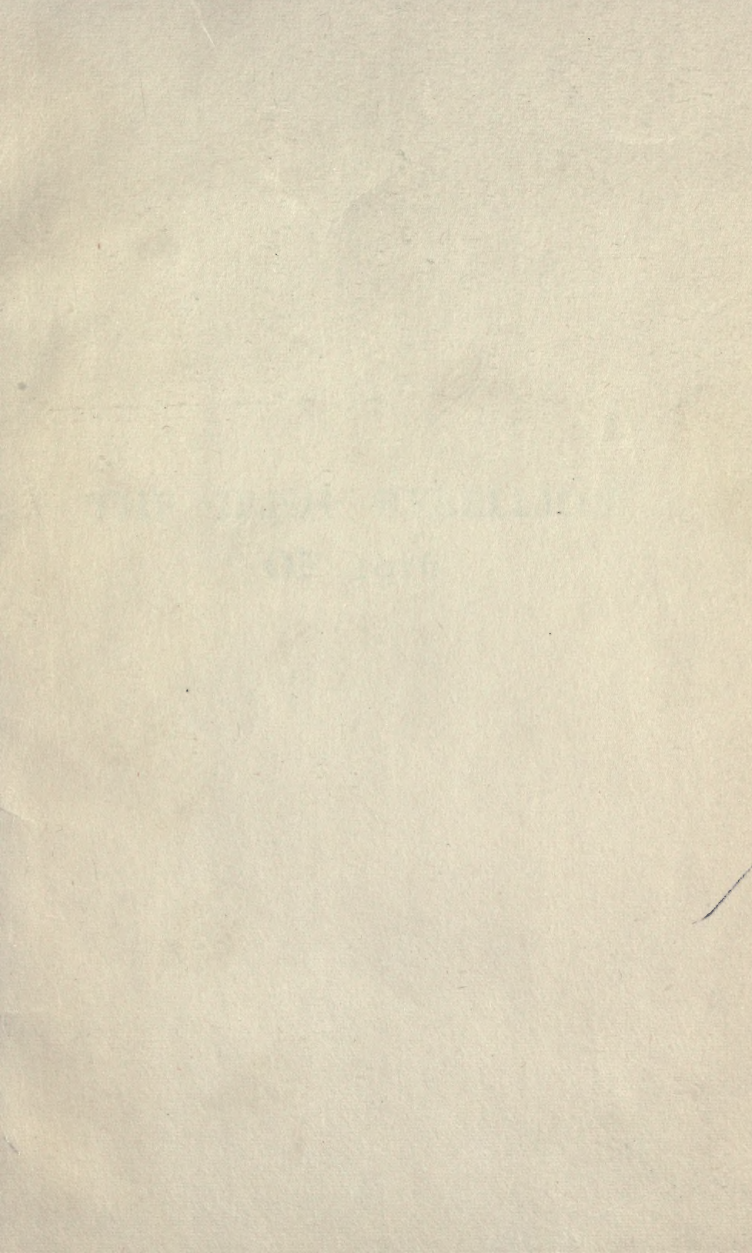


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# IRISH REBELLION OF 1916

JOHN F. BOYLE



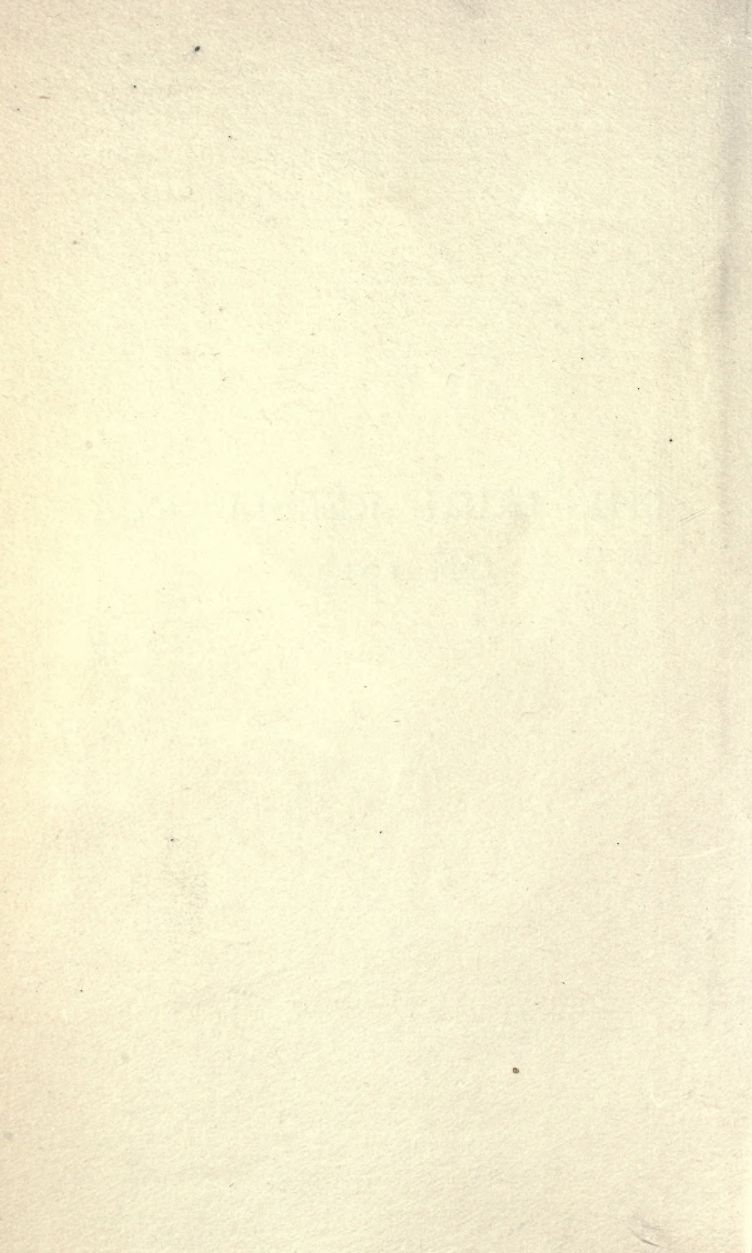








THE IRISH REBELLION  
OF 1916



THE IRISH REBELLION  
OF 1916


*A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REVOLT  
AND ITS SUPPRESSION*

BY  
JOHN F. BOYLE

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## PREFACE

My aim in writing this short account of the Rebellion that broke out in Ireland during Easter-week, 1916, has been to present the facts in a clear and lucid manner, so that a just appreciation of what actually occurred may be gleaned by readers in Great Britain and Ireland as well as abroad. The facts I have set forth are obtained from official sources, as well as from the accounts of the rising that appeared in the Press from well-informed correspondents. It has been a task of considerable difficulty to collate and rearrange them so that a complete and graphic pen-picture of the whole affair may result from the chaos, but I trust the work will be found to have been at least not negligently performed in the following

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pages. It is too early yet to estimate the real causes of the revolt or its probable consequences, and I have ventured no opinions, merely confining myself to as plain and impartial a presentation of the actual facts as I could, under all the circumstances, set forth.

JOHN F. BOYLE.



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# THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1916

## INTRODUCTION

### THE SINN FEIN MOVEMENT

THE Irish words "Sinn Fein" mean, literally, "Ourselves alone." Irishmen should depend on themselves, and not on outsiders—this was the essence of the teaching in the Sinn Fein movement. They should think in Irish, speak in Irish, write in Irish, dress in Irish, develop Irish resources, support Irish industries, and generally progress on purely Irish lines. This, too, was, in a great measure, the programme of the Gaelic League, which was founded some years in advance of the Sinn Fein movement. There were, however,

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wide divergences, at first, in the policies of the Gaelic League and the Sinn Fein movement. The Gaelic League was not political. Its propaganda was purely educational. Its chief aims were to restore the Irish language as a medium of conversation, to re-create an Irish literature in the vernacular, to foster Irish games and amusements, and in every way possible to render Ireland a distinctive cultural entity. It hoped to enlist in this work Protestant and Catholic, Unionist and Nationalist, and for this purpose it eschewed politics and religion. Not alone was it non-political, but it was also non-sectarian. The Sinn Fein movement was, from the first, political. It was Nationalist in the widest and most extreme form of that word. Founded in 1905, some five years or so after the Gaelic League, to a large extent, it left to the latter organisation the educational work it might, under other circumstances, have itself undertaken, and proceeded to supplement that work by the wider means at its disposal owing to its

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freer constitution. Though strictly non-sectarian, it was not, like the Gaelic League, trammelled by non-political bonds, and it was able to expound a policy and formulate a programme that the Gaelic League, committed as it then was to a severe estrangement from all that politics mean, could not undertake. The Sinn Feiners, from the first, were dissatisfied with, and disapproved of, the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament. They held that, under the best circumstances, such representation was bound to be prejudicial to Ireland, and, under the worst, to be absolutely disastrous to the country. They based this belief on the futility that had followed nearly a hundred years' agitation in the British Parliament for a measure of self-government for Ireland. They were also convinced of the truth of some saying attributed to Charles Stewart Parnell that a couple of years in the British Parliament was sufficient to sap the nationality of even the strongest Irishman. Holding such views, it is not sur-



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prising to find them, from the very start of their movement, in deadly and uncompromising hostility to the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party. They hurled charges against members of that Party. They alleged that instead of attending to the true interests of Ireland they spent the most of their time in London or in the lobby of the House of Commons seeking jobs of all kinds for their friends and relations. They asserted that the reasons why they never pressed the Liberal Government, or tried in any way to embarrass it, was because they were too busy asking for personal favours. When the payment of members of Parliament was adopted, and the Irish representatives received £400 a year, the scorn of the Sinn Feiners passed all bounds. How could anything virile, they asked, be expected from men who were in the pay of the Government? Why should men in receipt of such a salary be anxious to turn the Government out, no matter what its delinquencies were, when their livelihood depended on its remaining in power?

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Pressing these questions to their logical conclusions the Sinn Feiners urged that the Irish representatives should withdraw from the British Parliament and devote themselves to Ireland. The moral effect of such an action would, according to the Sinn Feiners, have been immense. Other suggestions were for the establishment of Irish Consuls. This was the suggestion that caught the fancy of Sir Roger Casement, who for years had been in the British Consular Service. He became interested in the Sinn Fein movement and strongly supported the proposal that Irish Consuls should be appointed in the various large capitals of the world. The primary object of these Consuls would be to act as visible signs of the distinct nationality of Ireland. Their secondary, and equally important, purpose would be to watch for opportunities for Irish trade and to assist and suggest in every possible way openings for the sale of Irish goods abroad, as well as to advise as to new methods of business in Ireland. All these

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proposals had one direct object and that was to initiate the Irish people into the art of depending on themselves alone. Too long had they waited for others to help them. The time had come for them to help themselves. Self-reliance was the motto of the Sinn Feiners. In the early days of the movement it was not revolutionary, nor did it profess to appeal to arms to carry out its objects. Like the Gaelic League, but in a larger and wider sense, it was an educational movement formed for the purpose of trying to convince the Irish people to look out on the world from a new and more self-centred standpoint. Much, it was felt, could be accomplished if only they could be converted from the evil practice of looking to England for everything they stood in need of. In Ireland lay resources that the Irish people themselves could work and develop. Instead of waiting for State aid, why should not the people start at work themselves? There was mineral wealth in the country waiting to be opened up. There were railways and

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waterways that could be utilised if the people would only combine instead of talking. Why should Ireland stand apathetic, wearily waiting, whilst some seventy or eighty Irish members in the British Parliament delivered interminable speeches about Home Rule? Better than any Home Rule would be the spirit of the Irish people if they started doing things and relied on themselves alone to do them. Such was the essential teaching of the Sinn Fein movement, and, at this stage, it was, as Mr. Birrell, the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated at the Royal Commission in London (May 19th, 1916) wholly unobjectionable. The inspirer, and practically the founder, of the Sinn Fein movement was Mr. Arthur Griffith, an able journalist of Welsh descent, who returned to Dublin, his native place, early in the twentieth century, after several years spent in South Africa. A bold and acute thinker, a lucid and forcible writer, and a man who obtained and retained the unshakable confidence of his followers, he devoted himself to expound-



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ing, by means of a weekly newspaper in Dublin, the doctrines of Sinn Fein. He gathered around him a devoted band of adherents. Some were intellectuals; others were men who disliked Parliamentary methods. From the first the Sinn Fein cause attracted to itself the malcontents whose sole dogma may be summed up in the word—Hate. Living in the practice of this Hate—their hatred was against England, in their imaginations always the enemy of Ireland—these men saw, or thought they saw, an opportunity in the new movement to gratify their predominant passion. Despite its novel features—and movements can always, when they have such features, command a certain preliminary measure of support in Ireland—the Sinn Fein idea did not spread rapidly or effectively. Outside of certain circles attracted by its doctrines in Dublin and some of the larger cities and towns, the country, as a whole, refused to have anything to do with it. The farmers, especially, neither understood it nor attempted to

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understand it. They knew they had secured certain substantial advantages as a result of agrarian and Parliamentary agitation, and they could not at all approve of the suggestion relative to the withdrawal of the Irish M.P.'s from Westminster. The proposal, too, to appoint foreign consuls left them cold. Nor did the prospects of internal developments, the stimulating of Irish industries, and the opening up of mines interest them very considerably. As an agricultural people their thoughts were centred solely on the soil. They had just emerged from a long-drawn-out struggle with landlordism. They had won. What they next wanted was some rest. Even Home Rule interested them but mildly. Sinn Fein did not interest them at all. Even in the towns and cities the movement made only poor progress. To be styled a Sinn Feiner meant being a crank. The Nationalist Press, being behind the Nationalist Party, ridiculed the Sinn Fein movement. The politicians derided it. The Unionist Press, seeing the weakness

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of the movement, supported it just a little as a lever against the more powerful Nationalist Party. Under such circumstances it flourished but feebly. Still, it managed to survive. Those who were followers of it believed in it wholeheartedly, which is more than could be said of the supporters of other Irish policies. Meetings were held weekly in Dublin. Some Sinn Feiners secured seats on the Dublin Corporation. A Sinn Fein bank was opened. A Sinn Fein evening newspaper was started. The bank continued, but the newspaper failed, and the Sinn Feiners had to fall back on their weekly organ again. Occasional set-backs to the Nationalist Party gave the Sinn Feiners opportunities for criticism and for propaganda work. The former, however, was hampered by not being able to reach the country at large owing to the absence of newspaper opportunities, whilst the latter was also lessened owing to the want of means to pay organisers to tour the country. The disgust aroused, however, over the



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abortive Irish Councils Bill of 1907 gave the Sinn Feiners a temporary fillip. The Budget of 1908, which laid a heavy financial burthen on the country, also played somewhat into their hands. There were other elements, too, which indirectly assisted them. The followers of Mr. William O'Brien, though they would have nothing to do with the Sinn Fein programme, did not dislike the Sinn Feiners in the same intense way that they detested and distrusted the followers of Mr. John Redmond. From the independent Nationalist Press, therefore, the Sinn Feiners were able to obtain encouragement in their task of endeavouring to destroy the Irish Parliamentary fabric as erected at Westminster under the leadership of Mr. Redmond. In the same way the Sinn Feiners coalesced with the followers of James Larkin. Little as they believed in the principles of international syndicalism, as preached by Larkin, or small as was their sympathy for his policy of ruining the few remaining industries of Dublin, they were

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at one with him in his revolt against the Irish Parliamentarians. James Connolly, the lieutenant of Larkin (and many say the real man behind the scenes in the troubled years of Dublin from 1911 to 1913), was a frequent speaker at Sinn Fein gatherings. The defeat of the Larkinites at the hands of Mr. Wm. Martin Murphy, Dublin's ablest capitalist, left the Sinn Feiners with little to gain from union with the extreme labour element. The advent of the Home Rule Bill of 1912, too, deflected public interest completely away from the Sinn Feiners and their programme. All they could do was to point to the defects of the measure and suggest remedies. For nearly two years the Sinn Fein movement lay dormant, until towards the close of 1913 an opportunity was afforded of associating with the establishment of the Irish (afterwards known as the Sinn Fein) Volunteers. It would be incorrect to associate all the active members of the Irish Volunteer organisation with the Sinn Feiners, but the latter undoubtedly

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dominated the movement, and they carried with them at the split in September, 1914, all those who were really zealous in the Nationalist Volunteer movement. The story of what followed is told in the succeeding pages. It should, however, be made perfectly clear that all Sinn Feiners were not Irish Volunteers, nor were all Irish Volunteers Sinn Feiners. It would, however, be accurate to say that nearly all Sinn Feiners, whether believers in the Volunteer (or physical force) idea or not, were agreed as regards opposition to recruiting for the Army in Ireland. Many Sinn Feiners were pacifists. Some of them were against Germany for declaring war, but nearly all, as has been said, were against Irishmen joining the Army to fight with England and her Allies against Germany. The policy of the "Sinn Fein" newspaper early in the war brought it into collision with the authorities, and it was suppressed. By other small newspapers, however, means were found of reaching the rank and file of the Sinn Feiners. The change in atti-



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tude was gradual, but certain. When the Home Rule Bill was before Parliament there were signs that the Sinn Feiners, although they regarded it as inadequate, were prepared to accept it. Especially were they anxious to retain the Ulster Protestants, for whom they professed an affection owing to the part played by the Northerners in the United Irishmen movement of 1798. A comprehensive scheme was outlined, under Sinn Fein auspices, which would have given the Ulstermen great power and influence in the Irish Parliament. This scheme was ignored alike by Unionists and Nationalists. Neither, in fact, regarded the Sinn Feiners seriously. Then came the war, which completely revolutionised the ideas and aspirations of, not alone Sinn Feiners, but others in Ireland. Home Rule was relegated to second place in the larger dream of an independent Ireland. Old Fenians and Irish Republicans who had never been converted either to Constitutionalism or to Sinn Feinism thought they saw the opportunity,

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as a result of the war, of realising the ideal of their boyhood days. At first there was some hope amongst the Sinn Feiners that Great Britain might rise to the occasion and, by a large and immediate measure, confer on Irishmen the complete control of their own affairs. A Provisional Government for Ireland was suggested. Instead came the delay over the passing of the Home Rule Bill, which damped enthusiasm in the country. When it finally passed, with, however, the guarantee that it would not come into operation until the end of the war, and also with the promise to the Ulster Unionists of an Amending Bill, the Sinn Feiners and other sections of actively discontented Irishmen had taken their choice. They had definitely become pro-German. A convention was established with the extreme Irish element in the United Irish States, and the words Sinn Fein came to mean (not quite, but in the main, fairly accurately) pro-German and pro-Republican. From the outset, and especially after the signing of the Home

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Rule Bill, Mr. Redmond and several members of his Party professed to treat this now very extreme section of Irishmen with supreme contempt. In this attitude he undoubtedly, as Mr. Birrell admitted, influenced the Government. The Sinn Feiners, and those who, whilst not Sinn Feiners, thought with them on this matter, were treated as negligible, and thus came to pass the tragic series of events narrated in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER I

### THE RISING IN DUBLIN

ON Easter Monday morning, April 24th, 1916, a mobilisation took place in Dublin of the Irish (Sinn Fein) Volunteers, together with the members of what was known as the Citizen Army, mostly composed of followers of James Larkin, the Syndicalist leader. Having assembled at various points in the city, they proceeded to take possession of such important public buildings as the General Post Office in Sackville Street, the Four Courts on the Quays, the huge factory of Messrs. Jacob and Co., biscuit manufacturers, the South Dublin Union, the Royal College of Surgeons, Westland Row railway station, Harcourt Street railway station, several banks,



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bakery establishments, newspaper offices, and private premises of various kinds. Attempts were also made to obtain possession of Dublin Castle, Trinity College, and the Bank of Ireland, but the insurgents were unable to take them. Such important buildings as they occupied were, however, quickly fortified, the windows and doors barricaded, sentries placed in the immediate vicinity and, fully armed, the insurgents prepared to fire on either military or police who might challenge their possession of these premises. So sudden were the movements made, so totally unexpected was the outbreak, so little did the vast majority of the people of Dublin dream that a rebellion had broken out, of all mornings on a bank holiday, that numbers of families proceeded on excursions for the day, thinking the whole proceedings were just ordinary practice in street fighting undertaken by the Volunteers. There was reason for this belief. On several occasions these Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers had carried out manœuvres on the hills

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surrounding Dublin. Their appearance in uniform in the streets was a familiar sight. They had even before made a mock attack near Dublin Castle. Whilst some loyalists had regarded these operations with anxiety the greater part of the people of Dublin were content to see in them nothing but a desire on the part of a number of young Irishmen to play at soldiers. Their route marches, their country manœuvres, their parades, were all looked upon with good-humoured tolerance. Rumours circulated from time to time as to the real objects of these armed men, but there was perfect confidence that the Government knew all about the matter, and when the Government took no action it was generally assumed that there was no real danger. On Easter Monday, therefore, when the storm burst, many people, sheltered by their belief that the whole affair was but a mimic proceeding, went on business or pleasure exactly as if nothing had occurred. Even on Easter Tuesday, after many deaths had taken place, there were to be found people

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who went to their business as usual, and it was only on Tuesday afternoon that the grim significance of the whole affair was generally known. It was then clearly realised that nothing less than an Irish Rebellion of a most serious kind had taken place, and that unless it was put down promptly in Dublin it might have grave consequences in the country. The outbreak was all the more serious from its startling suddenness. Two previous revolts in Ireland in the nineteenth century had been quenched with comparative ease by the Government, one of them with the aid of the police alone. Both in 1848 and in 1867 a great amount of secret preparations had been made by the rebels, but the Government had proved it knew all their movements, and there had been little or no trouble in laying hands on the leaders. The amazing thing about the Rebellion of 1916 was that there was hardly anything secret about it. The Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers took no oath. They did not drill secretly. On the contrary, they

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paraded openly, with arms in their hands. Perhaps for that very reason their rising came as all the greater surprise to the people at large, as well as to the Government. There was a further reason which, whilst it may not have added to the gravity of the revolt, nevertheless prevented early and adequate attempts to suppress it on the part of the Government. This was a division of opinion in the ranks, at the last moment, of the insurgents themselves. Apparently important movements had been ordered for Easter Sunday of a very general nature. These may not have had to do with an attempted rising all over the country, but, in any event, notices were sent out on Easter Saturday and Easter Sunday, signed by Professor John MacNeill, the Chief of the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers, cancelling all arrangements made for the Easter holidays. Presumably this cancellation order, if it set the plans of the insurgents awry, also had an equal effect in putting the authorities in Dublin Castle off their guard. It is suf-



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ficient, in any event, to state, what is now perfectly well known, that, when the outbreak did occur, both the civil and military authorities were completely taken unawares, and even on Easter Tuesday afternoon, in Parliament, Mr. Augustine Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and responsible for the government of that country, was unable to give an intelligible, a connected, or a satisfactory account of what had occurred in Dublin. Although he was able to state that the situation was well in hand, it was clear in Dublin that only towards the end of the week could that statement be made with perfect accuracy. Yet, though there might be some excuse for the people generally in Dublin not knowing what was happening, or was about to happen, there can hardly be said to be the same exoneration for the authorities. The fact is that after the cancellation order had been issued by the leader of the Irish Volunteers, a number of his associates came together and decided that the time for action had arrived. In order to understand

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how the whole affair occurred, it is necessary, at this point, briefly to explain the objects of the Irish (commonly, but not altogether accurately, styled Sinn Fein) Volunteers. Their establishment dates back to shortly after the creation of the Ulster Volunteers. It will be recalled that, when the Ulster Unionists decided to resist Home Rule by force if necessary, a body of Ulster Volunteers was formed. Secretly, arms were obtained in 1912, in 1913, and in 1914. Many of these arms were procured from Germany, which was, undoubtedly, watching events in Ireland with intense interest. During the summer of 1913 the Ulster Volunteers drilled openly, and made no secret of their intention to resist, by arms in the field if it should prove necessary, the imposition of Home Rule on Ulster. The Nationalists in the South and West of Ireland watched this arming and this drilling in Ulster, at first with amusement, and afterwards with admiration. Unaccustomed, for years, to the use of the rifle or the bayonet, young

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Irishmen, especially in the country districts, were attracted by the martial glamour that surrounded the Ulster Volunteers. The name revived memories of the Irish Volunteers of 1782, formed first to repel a Continental invasion of Ireland, and then used to obtain legislative independence for the country. It was not surprising, therefore, to find an attempt made towards the end of 1913, amongst the Nationalists in the South and West of Ireland, to emulate the doings in the North. In Dublin and other places National Volunteers were formed. Drillings immediately began, and efforts were at once made to obtain arms. Funds were not wanting. In America, where an extreme section of Irish is always to be found, money was raised for the arming and equipping of the National Volunteers. The Government, however, alarmed by the establishment of two sets of Volunteers in Ireland, took tardy action, and in December issued a Proclamation forbidding the import of arms into the country. The Ulster Volun-

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teers, by their great gun-running exploit at Larne and other northern ports in the spring of 1914, practically defied this Proclamation, and the National Volunteers were not slow to follow their example. They also endeavoured to obtain arms and equipment, and they grew steadily in numbers. At length Mr. John Redmond intervened. Up to now both he and the Irish Party, as well as the Nationalist Press in Ireland, had watched the growth of the National Volunteers with anxiety. At the head of these Volunteers, in addition to supporters of his Party, were men who for years had been criticising him as being a weakling in the hands of the Liberal Government. Sinn Feiners, also, who did not believe in Parliamentary agitation, were prominent in the leadership of the newly-formed National Volunteers. To make matters more serious, the membership of the Volunteers was increasing daily. Finally, therefore, Mr. Redmond took action. The Volunteers were governed by a Provisional Committee of twenty-five



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members. Profiting by the word Provisional, Mr. Redmond sent a letter demanding that twenty-five of his supporters should be nominated on the Provisional Committee, until, as he stated, such time as a regular governing body was elected to control the movement. The demand of the Irish Parliamentary leader was resented by the Sinn Fein and the extreme section of the Volunteers, who pointed out that they had been formed without the support of the Irish Nationalist leader or his Party, and that now, when they were growing stronger, they were to be captured by men hostile or indifferent to the movement. Singular to state, the Unionist Press in Dublin, obviously to embarrass the Nationalist leader, supported the Sinn Fein section against the demands of Mr. Redmond. A split in the ranks of the National Volunteers was imminent when, at the last moment, the Provisional Committee gave way and admitted the twenty-five nominees of Mr. Redmond. All during the summer of 1914 the ranks of the

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Volunteers continued to swell, until, shortly before the war broke out, there must have been well over one hundred thousand active members. It is very much to be doubted, however, if the arming, or the equipment, or even the training of the National Volunteers improved in the same proportion as the membership. It was calculated in July, 1914, that not one-fourth were armed or properly drilled or equipped. The active section of the Volunteers, who were still to a large extent Sinn Feiners or extremists of one kind or another, made strenuous attempts to obtain arms, and it was due to their efforts that some thousands of rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were landed at Howth on the second last Sunday in July, 1914. The ending of the affair was tragic. On hearing of the occurrence, the Assistant Commissioner of Police in Dublin sent a force of police and military to intercept the National Volunteers on their march back, with their arms, from Howth. There was a collision on the Howth Road, in

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the course of which some rifles were seized, but the Volunteers dispersed through the fields and roads with their weapons, and the military on their march back to Dublin were followed by a mob, mainly composed of women and children, as well as a number of roughs not connected with the Volunteers. Irritated by the conduct of this mob, which flung taunts and missiles alike at the troops, the latter, composed of a detachment of the Scottish Borderers, fired at the crowd in Bachelor's Walk with the result that several people were killed and over a score wounded. The affair created a great sensation throughout Ireland, and, as was not unnatural to expect, contrasts were drawn between the immunity enjoyed by Sir Edward Carson's Volunteers in the North as compared with the Nationalist Volunteers in the South. The Government disavowed the action of the Assistant Commissioner of Police and suspended him. In the midst of the excitement, the European War burst forth, and in the larger

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catastrophe the smaller one was forgotten. When it became apparent that Great Britain would be involved in the war, Mr. John Redmond, in a notable speech, strove to link Ireland with the fortunes of England and the Empire, and in a dramatic manner offered the National Volunteers to the Government for the defence of Ireland. The speech created a great burst of enthusiasm in Parliament, as well as in Ireland. Protestant and Unionist landlords in the South and West hastened to offer their services to the National Volunteers, and it really seemed as if the millennium had arrived, so far as the relations between Ireland and the British Empire were concerned. The enthusiasm was, however, short-lived. Quickly it became apparent that there would be no German invasion of Ireland, the Germans having quite enough to do to hold their own against the French, the British, and the Russians abroad, to say nothing of the British Fleet. Eventually, on the Royal Assent being given to the Home Rule Bill,



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Mr. Redmond and members of the Nationalist Party came definitely forward and asked for Irish recruits for the firing line abroad. It was at once apparent that he would be opposed in this by the Sinn Feiners and others who hated England. The split, that had been avoided earlier in the year, came about, therefore, in September, 1914, a little after the war had been in progress. A great part of the country sided with Mr. Redmond, and their ranks were known as the National Volunteers. Those who seceded called themselves the Irish Volunteers. Deprived of the men, who up to then had been training them—the army reservists were called up on the outbreak of the war—both the National and the Irish Volunteers lost, not alone in membership, but in efficiency, the former especially. Never very enthusiastic about the movement, the leaders of the National Volunteers, once removed from the stimulus caused by association with the extremists who were keen on getting arms, soon grew apathetic, so that it might

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in truth be said during 1915, and certainly in the early months of 1916, the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers formed the only live organisation in the country. Defections from the ranks of the National to the Irish Volunteers were frequent, not alone in Dublin, but in the country. The greater part of the members, who had taken up drilling with such verve in the summer of 1914, quitted the movement altogether, leaving the ardent spirits to join the ranks of the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers. Such was the position of affairs in the early part of 1916. It cannot be doubted that, during the whole of the previous year, the leaders of this Sinn Fein organisation were zealous in endeavouring to procure arms and ammunition, though it may be questioned whether the quantities so obtained were either exceptionally large or of the best quality. A considerable number of rifles, and a fair share of rifle ammunition, were undoubtedly, by various means, obtained. Money, too, was not scarce, and the source from which it came was America

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—probably from the irreconcilable Irish out there, as well as from the German element in the States. The abrupt outbreak of the war caught the Sinn Feiners, as well as other people, unawares, and, for a time, it was difficult to adjust into the minds of the Sinn Fein Volunteers the impression that it was their duty to regard the Germans as the friends of Ireland, simply because Germany happened to be at war with England. The daily Nationalist Press in Ireland, without exception, sided with the cause of the Allies. The weekly organ of the Sinn Fein Party, however, took up a different attitude, and when it became clear that it would oppose recruiting, it was suppressed, besides other lesser-known publications. In its place a small daily organ called *Ireland* was published. That, too, was suppressed. A successor to it, called *Scissors and Paste*, which purported to give extracts only from papers allowed to be read in England, was, after a short career, also shut up. Eventually, a series of small weekly publica-

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tions, the principal of which was entitled *Nationality*, appeared, and were allowed to circulate by the Government up to the very eve of the Rebellion. It cannot be doubted that these publications had an enormous effect in moulding the views of the men who subsequently took arms and fought against British troops in the streets of Dublin. They were openly and undisguisedly anti-British in tone, and on more than one occasion clearly indicated that an attempt would be made, by force of arms, to break the British connection with Ireland. Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist Party were denounced in violent terms for advocating recruiting, and the German army and navy were extolled, sometimes rather furtively, and at other times with plainness and exultation. The Government, through Mr. Birrell, made attempts, now and again, to seize these publications, just as they made efforts, now and again, to deport some of the more daring organisers of the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers. In the main, however, they took no strong



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or definite action. These weekly publications were sold openly, week after week, in hundreds of newsagents' shops in Dublin and the provinces, and were even carried through the post. It is scarcely to be wondered at, in view of this tolerance on the part of the authorities, if the impression rapidly grew among the extremists that, in the event of a rising, the Government might be found acting with the same lack of energy. Nor would it be quite wrong to place amongst the reasons also, for encouraging them in this belief, the daily attacks made on the Government, by a section of the British Press, for its nerveless conduct of the war, and the hints constantly thrown out that all was not going well in England. In any event, what might be logically expected, duly happened. Fed weekly on papers bitterly hostile to England, trained and officered by men who imagined that a revolution might be successful, whilst England was engaged in a world war, a situation was reached in which the Irish Volunteer leaders and men were

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faced with the prospect of sitting tight with the certainty of being disarmed, or of coming out into the open. The latter course was not decided upon without many misgivings, and, in the end, was not unanimous. True or false, the impression gained currency towards the end of April, 1916, that the Irish Government might be forced, by the loyalist section in Dublin, to attempt a general disarmament of the Irish Volunteers. It may be doubted if this idea alone would have tempted even the hottest-headed amongst the revolutionaries to attempt an insurrection. It is here that the occurrences culminating in the arrest of Sir Roger Casement, and the sinking of the German vessel laden with arms for Ireland, must be weighed. Had even a small German force landed in the West or South of Ireland, plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, and accompanied by Sir Roger Casement, the Sinn Feiners might possibly have deemed the moment as favourable as they could hope to expect. The sinking of the vessel

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laden with arms, and the arrest of Casement, undoubtedly precipitated matters, and the rising of Easter Monday was the result. There is a further consideration that must be taken into account, in dealing with the whole tragic episode. Week after week the organs read by the revolutionaries had been denouncing Mr. Redmond for his statements that Irishmen were unanimously with England in the war. The Nationalist Press had also been violently attacked for conveying the same impression. Under these circumstances, the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, to whom the prospect of the failure of a rebellion must have been palpable unless they had taken leave of their senses, may have considered that some moral effect would be produced by an insurrection and the declaration of an Irish Republic. In any event, the plans that were carried out showed that some considerable thought had been bestowed on the nature of that awful struggle on which they were about to embark. The sudden

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seizure of the General Post Office in Dublin was unmistakably a master-stroke of the revolutionaries. In an instant it paralysed all telegraphic communication with England. Had it been followed by the immediate seizure of the telephone exchange the insurgents would have been placed in a very strong position. An English war correspondent, in describing what he styled the admirable plans of the insurgents, stated that their one serious blunder was the failure to seize the telephone exchange, and in the light of after events this must be regarded as a correct appreciation of facts. With the General Post Office and the telephone exchange in their possession, the insurgents would have had a couple of days to consolidate their position in the city, and, though the end would inevitably have been the same, it is certain that a considerable number of other lives would have been lost, with much more destruction of property. Another serious failure of the revolutionaries was their inability to seize Dublin Castle. It may



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seem incredible, but it is a fact, that a *coup de main* on that fateful Easter Monday morning might have placed the rebels in easy possession of the seat of the Irish Government, with all its moral effects, its historical associations, its wealth of important documents, and incidentally they might have secured possession of the Under-Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, who, it is stated, was present in the Castle at the time. A feeble attempt was, indeed, made to seize the citadel, but the approaches were quickly barred to the insurgents by the few men who were guarding the place, and, deficient in artillery, the insurgents were unable to force their way in. The same applies to Trinity College and the Bank of Ireland, all of which places might have been obtained by surprise but not otherwise. With the exception of these buildings, the insurgents acted with promptitude in the case of the other places that they seized and held. At the General Post Office even barbed wire was not forgotten, and a line of it was laid

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across the street. The proximity of the great Metropole Hotel, next the Post Office, relieved the insurgents of any immediate fear of lack of provisions in this quarter. The seizure of Jacob's biscuit factory, in the heart of the city, also set at ease any anxiety of the insurgents in this area, that they would be compelled to surrender through starvation, at least for a considerable time. The possession of a Union, in another part of the city, showed that the insurgents had made their plans rather carefully, so far at least as the buildings they occupied were concerned. They probably counted on an abundance of food, as well as on immunity from artillery fire, owing to the presence of inmates and sick in hospital. Another strong and favourable strategic point, near an important railway, was a big mill and bakery. This was early occupied by the insurgents, who, at this point also, were relieved of fear as regards the food supply. So quickly were all the arrangements carried out that it must be taken for granted they had all been

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carefully thought out beforehand. This, indeed, is proved by the subsequent acts of the insurgents after they had obtained possession of their main strongholds. For example, once the General Post Office was seized and barricaded, the flag of "The Irish Republic" was hoisted, and a message was sent indiscriminately over the wire, "Ireland a Republic." The hoisting of the Republican flag was signalled by a volley from the insurgents in the building. At the same time a Volunteer at the door of the Post Office handed to passers-by printed copies of the following Proclamation :—

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

(The people of Ireland.)

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE  
IRISH REPUBLIC.

To the People of Ireland,

Irishmen and Irishwomen,—In the name of God and of the dead generations from whom she receives her old traditions of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons

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her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisation, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having partially perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right, by a foreign people and government, has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished, except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty. Six times during the past 300 years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right, and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world,



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we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent state, and we pledge our lives, and the lives of our comrades in arms, to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation amongst the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation, and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and oblivious of the differences, carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent national government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic

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under the protection of the most High God, whose blessing we invoke on our arms, and we pray that no one who serves the cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish Nation must, by its valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,  
SEAN MACDIARMADA,  
P. H. PEARSE,  
JAMES CONNOLLY,  
THOMAS MACDONAGH,  
EAMONN CEANNT,  
JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

In addition to the issue of this Proclamation, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary movement, stepping from the General Post Office into the middle of the street, publicly proclaimed by word of mouth the establishment of the Republic and called for volunteers. Nor in the

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stress and excitement attendant on the rebellion did the insurgents forget the Press. A little four-page newspaper was printed, in one of the printing offices seized, and under the heading of *Irish War News*, gave details of the progress of the insurrection. The leading article, which filled the whole of the front page, was entitled, "If the Germans conquer England." The following statement made by "Commander-General Pearse" was prominently displayed :—

"The Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, April 24, at 12 noon. Simultaneously with the issue of the Proclamation, the Dublin division of the Army of the Republic, including the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army and the Hibernian Rifles, occupied dominating positions in the city. The General Post Office was seized at 12 noon, and the Castle attacked at the same moment, and shortly after the Four Courts were occupied. Irish troops hold the City Hall, and dominate the Castle. Attacks were made next by

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the British Forces, and were everywhere repulsed."

The newspaper further stated that Commander-General Pearse was Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Republic, and President of the Provisional Government; while Commander-General James Connolly was commanding the Dublin district. The *Irish War News* appears only to have been published on one day, the second of the rebellion. Whilst these proceedings were taking place at the General Post Office, which was the headquarters of the Revolt, having regard both to the importance of the building and its prominent situation, stirring events were taking place in other quarters of the city. A small body of insurgents marched up to the gates of Dublin Castle, shot the policeman on duty, but were unable to rush the building, either because of lack of men to take and hold the place, or because they were fearful of being trapped inside. They seized the City Hall, however, from the windows and roof of which they were able



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to dominate the Castle Yard. They also obtained possession of newspaper offices, and other corner premises, thus securing the main approaches to the Castle. At St. Stephen's Green, a select and fashionable square near the centre of the city, the proceedings of the insurgents were remarkable. Having taken possession of the small grassy park in the square, they dug trenches, and barricaded the railings. Once the military secured possession, however, of a corner of the square, these trenches were found to be untenable, and the insurgents had to retreat from them to the opposite end of the square, where they seized the Royal College of Surgeons, a strongly-built stone structure, and other premises, including a large public-house in the immediate vicinity. On the first day of the revolt, two railway stations were in possession of the insurgents. Attempts to seize two others—Kingsbridge, the terminus of the Great Southern and Western Railway, and Amiens Street, the terminus of the Great Northern Railway—were not

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successful. Broadstone, the terminus of the Midland Great Western Railway, was for a time held by them, but they were driven out. No attempt seems to have been made by the insurgents to take by surprise and storm the military barracks in Dublin. A small party, however, appeared about midday on Easter Monday, at the canal bridge near Portobello barracks, and taking possession of a public-house, commanded for a time the main approach citywards from the barracks. An officer of the Irish Rifles, who was returning to the barracks on horseback, was fired on by the insurgents, and wounded. He succeeded, nevertheless, in reaching his men, who, having been reinforced, attacked with machine-guns the public-house occupied by the insurgents. The latter evacuated the position, the bulk of them making their escape by the back. The insurgents' plan seems to have been to seize buildings, as nearly as they could, in the form of a circle, so as to have their movements as free as possible in the centre of the city, and in order, also, that when

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evacuating forward positions they might have the opportunity to retreat citywards. The next important building taken by them in the line of the circle starting from Stephen's Green, viâ Leeson Street and Portobello Bridge, was the South Dublin Union and a distillery adjoining. Here some very sharp fighting took place, on the first day of the revolt, between the insurgents and the military, in the course of which several casualties occurred, not alone to the parties engaged, but also to civilians. On Easter Monday night, both the Union and the distillery remained in the possession of the insurgents. Unable to take or to hold the Kingsbridge railway terminus, which would have been important to them, as it was the gateway through which troops would come from the Curragh, and from the depôts in the south and west of Ireland, the insurgents made a raid on the magazine fort in the Phoenix Park, not very far distant. This was only guarded by a few soldiers. Driving up in four or five motor-cars, the insurgents rushed the guard-

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room, and set fire to the outer portion of the fort, where some small-arms munitions were destroyed. The insurgents did not remain, and the military, having returned in force from adjoining barracks, were able to quell the flames before any serious explosion occurred. The nearest building to the Phoenix Park, of any importance, occupied by the insurgents, was the Four Courts. This beautiful building, with its majestic dome, is situate on the quays, and is one of the sights of Dublin. The rebels showed scant courtesy for its grave and dignified surroundings. Having secured an entry, they manned the windows, which gave them a wide and commanding outlook. They barricaded them with law books of heavy size, and with records in parchment. The possession of this large building gave them control of the quays. On the north side of the city, the insurgents, being unable to hold Broadstone railway terminus, took possession of a number of houses in various streets, especially corner houses commanding



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canal and railway bridges, and sniping was commenced. The insurgents on this side of the city, however, being without the shelter afforded elsewhere by large and important buildings, were gradually driven in, from the first, in the direction of the Post Office. Completing the circle from Fairview to Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Citizen Army on the quays, they at the beginning strove to keep the outer positions as long as possible. On Easter Monday evening they took Ballybough Bridge and the houses around. They also took Annesley Bridge, and they broke into, and occupied, manure works in the vicinity. They seized several motor-cars, and practically occupied the whole of the Fairview district, through which the main line of the Great Northern Railway from Belfast to Dublin runs. They were, however, as already stated, unable to secure possession of the Amiens Street terminus of that important line. On Easter Monday, therefore, before night closed, they were in occupation of a large and im-

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portant portion of the city. In the Ringsend district they held Boland's bakery, a huge building overlooking the grand canal, and giving a wide view of the surrounding neighbourhood. Possession of the railway, from Westland Row to Lansdowne Road, gave them partial control of the line from Kingstown, where, it must be presumed, they knew troops would be landed in large numbers. From the very first fighting was severe in this district, with its network of narrow and dirty streets. The presence of a military barracks in the vicinity led to immediate conflicts between the insurgents in the bakery and mill and the troops from the barracks, who occupied several houses from which they enfiladed the approaches to the premises seized by the Sinn Feiners. The outer circle held by the insurgents on Easter Monday night ranged from Ringsend to Ballsbridge, Leeson Street, Portobello, across to Dolphins Barn, from thence to the Four Courts on the quays, extending therefrom to the greater part of the northern side of the

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city, Fairview, back again to Liberty Hall on the quays. This was the utmost limit they reached on the outer radius. On the inner and narrower circle, they held the General Post Office, the City Hall, the Royal College of Surgeons, and Jacob's factory. There can be no doubt, judging from their operations, that their plan was to hold as wide an outer area as possible, so as to give them a surer foothold in important buildings in the centre of the city. Manifestly their complete plan went wrong. The first, and most important, difficulty with which they were faced, was a shortage in men to hold the various and rather widely extended buildings of which they made attempts to secure possession. This shortage may possibly be explained by the cancellation of the Easter manoeuvres, and the consequent defection of a large body of volunteers, whom the insurgents might, under other circumstances, have counted upon. Assuming that the full plan, which was evidently worked out with great care, and with a

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thorough knowledge of the geography of the city, provided for the seizure of as wide an outer area as possible at the commencement, the lack of men caused by the cancellation order would have seriously depleted the resources of the leaders, who, at the last moment, decided to proceed at all costs with their adventure. Forced to act on a preconceived plan, with a smaller number of men than had been reckoned on, they were unable to carry all the outer or the inner number of buildings on which they may have counted. The failure to seize or to hold the railway termini was unmistakably due to lack of men. So, too, was the failure to rush the various military barracks, Trinity College, the Telephone Exchange, and Dublin Castle, as well as the Custom House. In the light of what actually happened, there cannot be the smallest shadow of doubt that, given the same surprise, and supplied with the full number of men on whom they counted, the insurgents would have been able to take possession of the various buildings



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they required in the outer and inner areas. An exception may possibly be made in the case of Trinity College, which was occupied by a detachment of the Officers Training Corps. Acting promptly, they soon put the College in a state of defence, and it is probable that, even had the rebels the number of men they expected to have, the result, so far as Trinity College is concerned, would have been the same. In any event, the occupation and the holding of Trinity would have entailed after the first couple of days a large number of men on the part of the insurgents, and possibly for this reason, as well as owing to the very determined defence of the Officers Training Corps inside, the attack was not pressed. The failure to secure the Bank of Ireland, a thick and solid stone structure, was due, in part, to the fire from Trinity College defenders, but in a larger degree it was owing to the Volunteers' want of artillery in any shape or form, or even of suitable explosives. The same remark applies to Dublin Castle. Had the insur-

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gents any artillery, or even high explosive bombs, it cannot reasonably be doubted they would, given a sufficient number of men for the purpose, have been able to force their way into the Castle from the positions they held on Easter Monday afternoon in its immediate vicinity. Lacking both men and explosives, the most the insurgents could do on Easter Monday, after their surprise attacks had placed them in possession of several important parts of the city, was to barricade themselves in the buildings they had seized, provide means of retreat for themselves, if possible, in the case of those on the outer radius, and, in the case of those in the inner area, to defend themselves as best they could by rifle and machine-gun fire. The leaders may have possibly hoped that artillery fire would not be used in the case of large and imposing buildings in the heart of the city, either because they were Government property, or because prominent citizens and hostages in the shape of captured officers and men would be injured thereby. Pos-

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sibly, also, some dream of the country springing to arms, and coming to their relief, of a naval battle at sea resulting in German warships appearing in Dublin Bay, or a German raid on the coast of Ireland, resulting in the dispersal of the cordon of troops that on Easter Monday night started to be drawn round the city—some dream, or some hope of this kind, may have animated the minds of the leaders of the revolt. They were, undoubtedly, in a rather cheerful and hopeful frame of mind on the Monday night, and so also were their followers. The rather easy manner in which they had secured a position in many buildings, the fact that they commanded, if they did not hold, Dublin Castle, the practical disappearance of the military and police from the city, the complete surprise, not alone of the authorities, but of the populace generally—all these things may, for the moment, have tended to raise illusions which, under cooler circumstances, would have been rejected. In any

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event they remained, during the first night of the revolt, practically in undisputed possession of nearly all the portions of the city that they had seized at noon. Several days were, in fact, to elapse before any general, determined or successful attempts were made to drive them from their main vantage places.



## CHAPTER II

### STREET FIGHTING

ON Easter Tuesday morning, the second day of the Rebellion, Dublin awoke to an extraordinary position of affairs. The absence of letters, trams, newspapers, and police showed that something unique had occurred, but, even yet, many citizens found it hard to realise that their city was a prey to revolution. The stillness of the morning was soon, however, to be broken by other and clearer signs of the storm that had so startlingly burst on the capital, and the sharp crackle of rifles, the rapid rattle of machine-guns, the bursting of shrapnel and of bombs convinced, even the most bewildered, that the war which they had deemed so far distant was

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now at their very doors. It was from Tuesday onwards to the end of the week that Dublin was to witness a most remarkable form of warfare, namely, sustained and stubborn street fighting. For a parallel to this form of fighting in a big city, one has to go back to the days of the French Revolution, or to the days of the Commune in Paris. It was, probably, on these models that the insurgents acted when, on the fateful Easter Monday, they seized the General Post Office and other important buildings in the Irish capital. On Tuesday the first concerted attempt was made by the authorities to deal with the rising. Martial law was proclaimed in Dublin city and county. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland issued a Proclamation stating that an attempt, instigated and designed by foreign enemies, to incite rebellion in Ireland had been made by a reckless, but small, body of men, who had been guilty of insurrectionary acts in the city of Dublin. The Viceroy warned all loyal subjects that the sternest measures

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were being taken for the prompt suppression of the disturbances, and cautioned people of the danger of unnecessarily frequenting the streets, or of assembling in crowds. Beyond tightening the cordon round the city, and the capture of some outlying positions, the military were unable on Tuesday to drive the insurgents from their main positions in the heart of the city. Supplies were commandeered from grocery and other food shops by the rebels, who handed in payment drafts drawn on "The Irish Republic." The troops were still too few on Tuesday morning to prevent the Volunteers from appearing on the streets in the main thoroughfares, or from proceeding from one of their strongholds to another. The retention of Trinity College by the Loyalists was, however, clearly proved of great importance on Tuesday. Its small garrison was, during Monday night and Tuesday morning, reinforced by a number of regular troops who, armed with rifles and machine-guns at the windows, swept with their fire the ap-

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proaches from Westmoreland Street, College Green, Grafton Street, and College Street. Some insurgents, caught by this fire whilst making their way from the General Post Office to Stephen's Green, suffered rather severely. The possession of the College by the military had another advantage. Its grounds at the rear, extending to within easy reach of Stephen's Green, and well protected by thick walls and heavy railings, enabled the military to move with comparative safety in the direction of the Green, which they recaptured from the insurgents, with the exception of the end on which stands the Royal College of Surgeons. Meanwhile, sharp fighting was taking place throughout Monday night and Tuesday morning at other points. A stronghold of the Volunteers was at Fairview. This locality had, for some years, been a favourite meeting place for the followers of James Larkin. When his citizen army was formed, and when they procured arms and ammunition, it was in a park in this district they met to drill and undergo



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other military evolutions. One of the first acts of the revolutionaries had been to seize a large manure works in this area, and also to barricade the bridges in the vicinity. The open spaces in this locality, the railway embankment of the Great Northern line, and the country beyond, enabled both military and insurgents to move with somewhat greater freedom than in the crowded streets and narrow lanes of the city. The troops on Tuesday manned the railway embankment, which gave them a commanding position, and they were able to fire with some effect on the insurgents. The latter took possession of several houses, as well as the manure works already alluded to, from which they, in turn, fired on the soldiers. Throughout the whole of Tuesday they held practically the entire district of Fairview, the troops in the vicinity being too few to do more than snipe at them from the railway and other points of vantage. On Wednesday reinforcements arrived for the military, and the insurgents, who, until then, had

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been holding up civilians, searching them and generally acting as if in entire control of the area, were definitely placed on the defensive. They still kept up a desperate fight, and, for thirteen hours on one occasion, ceaseless sniping went on between them and the military. From the windows of quiet villa residences, from small shops, from the shelter afforded by canal bridges, and from the roofs of houses, volley after volley was fired, the crack of the rifle being varied now and again by the rattle of machine-gun fire. In one instance an insurgent sniper, who was shot down, was found to have tied himself, by means of a rope, to a chimney stack. The wounded rebels were attended to in the houses by their friends, whilst the troops, when injured, were conveyed along the railway to Amiens Street terminus of the Great Northern line. Searchlights were used by the military, their positions on the railway embankment enabling them at night time to sweep the various roads, in the houses of which the insur-

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gents were entrenched. Gradually the latter were driven in on the city, and, towards the close of the week, Fairview was in possession of the troops. In Phibsborough and the Phoenix Park districts, on the extreme north side of the city, the same task was slowly but effectively accomplished. It was on Tuesday that the Dublin Fusiliers forced their way towards the centre of the city from this northern side. The insurgents tried to blow up some bridges on the main routes, but, either through an insufficiency of high explosives for the purpose, or because of inadequate preparation, they were unable to do so, and the weak barricades that they erected were easily demolished by shell fire. Owing to the persistent sniping from shops and dwelling-houses, the advance of the troops in this district, as, indeed, all over the city, had to be slow and cautious. Having no stronghold on the extreme northern side of the town, the operations of the Volunteers consisted in sniping as long as they could in

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the outlying streets, and then taking up new positions at night time, or by the back entrances when any particular spot became too hot for them. Early in the week a body of Lancers charged, from the north side of Sackville Street, down the centre of the city, in the direction of the General Post Office. They were met with a volley, and there were several casualties. Obviously cavalry were useless in such a juncture, their animals and themselves but making targets for the insurgents in the buildings attacked. The same remark applied to attempts by infantry to storm the larger buildings held by Sinn Feiners. They offered a favourable mark for snipers, and, on several occasions, after obtaining possession of houses from which they had been fired on, they found the premises evacuated by the insurgents, who, by back ways, or by holes bored in the partitions, had made their way to new positions. The network of old and dilapidated streets, lanes, and valleys in the vicinity of the Four Courts and the quays on the north



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side of the river proved very difficult for the military, and firing was constant here during the entire week. By gradual progress, however, the troops made their advance from street to street without very many casualties, and by Wednesday night the authorities were able to announce that there was then a complete cordon around the centre of the town, on the north side of the river. The Four Courts, the General Post Office, and several high buildings in that area of operations were still held by the insurgents, but they were being slowly but surely pressed in on the river on this particular side. To the south of the Liffey the fighting was more variable. One of the places where a very determined stand was made was Boland's Bakery and the Ringsend district generally. The possession of the bakery was valuable to the insurgents in a twofold sense. It secured them a supply of foodstuffs, and, by its height, it offered a commanding position for concentrated rifle fire. In addition to the bakery the

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rebels seized an old distillery, of which they were able to make effective use. The commandant here was one of the ablest of their chiefs. His name was De Valera, and, like many other of the leaders, he was a professor in a college before he took up arms. To a young British officer who fell into the hands of the insurgents at this spot we owe a most interesting account of their proceedings. The position, he said, was considered by them of great importance. It commanded a large part of the south river district. By what appeared to be a clever *ruse de guerre* the insurgents succeeded in getting the military to shell the distillery instead of the bakery. They ran up a green flag on the top of the distillery, started signalling seawards, and posted half a dozen men with rifles at different points of the building. The result was that the distillery was razed to the ground. Some shells were fired in the direction of the bakery, but it was not destroyed. As a matter of fact, the insurgents had a way of retreat cut for them-

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selves over to the Dublin and Kingstown Railway, which was not far distant. Despite the heavy firing day and night in this district, there were not many casualties, the great amount of cover available both for the rebels and the troops safeguarding them from dangers that had a more tragic effect elsewhere. Such casualties as occurred in this district were mainly suffered by the Veterans' Corps early in the week, as they were returning to Beggars Bush Barracks, and by the civilians, who received injuries from the bullets alike of Volunteers and of soldiers. Altogether, Ringsend and the district surrounding Boland's Bakery was a very lively place during the rising, the presence of an insurgent stronghold and a military barracks in close proximity leading to continued and obstinate sniping, which lasted right to the very end of the revolt, and, indeed, for some days after the rising had ended in other parts of the city. Not far from this disturbed area, but in quite a different locality, the most serious and the most

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desperate fighting associated with the whole rebellion took place. This was in Mount Street and the better-class houses that abut on it all round. No greater contrast could be imagined than that between the squalid slums of Ringsend and the stately and fashionable houses in the Mount Street area. Row upon row of neat and stylish residences, inhabited by the well-to-do professional classes in Dublin, by doctors, county court judges, wealthy merchants, are here to be found. It was, nevertheless, this select neighbourhood which was to be the scene of fierce and desperate fighting, in which the heaviest losses of the troops occurred. From the high houses in Clanwilliam Place, and other roads in the neighbourhood of Mount Street Bridge, of which the insurgents took forcible possession, they awaited the arrival of the first troops from Kingstown. When the first detachment appeared, therefore, consisting of a body of the Sherwood Foresters, they poured a violent fire into their ranks, causing very



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heavy casualties. Within a couple of hours it was calculated that some seventy dead or wounded soldiers were brought into one Nurses' Home in the vicinity. Four officers of the Sherwood Foresters were killed at this spot. The troops had no artillery, and only by a lucky chance succeeded in obtaining bombs and dynamite; but finally, after several attempts to blow in the houses and schools which formed the position, it was taken by an assault properly organised.

The mode of procedure adopted by the insurgents, when they took possession of private houses, was simple. The women and children were, in many cases, allowed to leave, and so also were the men, but they were cautioned not to give information to the military authorities. In some instances the families remained in the basements whilst firing took place continuously from the upper windows. Unable to leave their houses, forced to live on such small rations as remained in their larders, the plight of the unfortunate inhabitants

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of these residences can well be imagined. Several of them who ventured into their gardens, or out on the streets, were shot either by stray bullets or because they were mistaken by snipers as possible enemies. Driven to desperation in some cases by the persistent firing and the constant danger night and day, it was not unusual to see families consisting of the husband, the wife, and the children place their money and jewellery in a perambulator, and, under cover of a white flag, rush from their houses to friends in some other and safer portion of the city. The guests in large and fashionable hotels in St. Stephen's Green also had a most trying experience. From the first to the finish of the revolt this green was the scene of sharp fighting. Ousted from their trenches in the Park the insurgents retreated to the Royal College of Surgeons and other buildings on that side of the Green. Here they engaged in a day and night rifle duel with the troops posted in the Shelbourne Hotel and other buildings on three sides of the

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Green. From the flagstaff of the College of Surgeons the flag of "the Irish Republic" was hoisted, and remained there to the very end of the rebellion. The windows were barricaded, and from loopholes the barrels of rifles could be seen projecting. After the first few days' fighting in this region, when the insurgents were compelled to evacuate the Park, the rest of the week passed comparatively quietly, the firing consisting mainly of persistent sniping. Whilst this was in progress it was a common sight to see passers-by in the streets walk unconcernedly by the buildings from the windows of which firing was proceeding. It was, indeed, scarcely any wonder that so many casualties occurred amongst innocent civilians having regard to the manner in which they braved the risk of stray bullets and mistaken snipers. A short distance at the back of the Royal College of Surgeons stands the huge biscuit factory of Messrs. Jacob and Co. This proved an ideal stronghold for the insurgents. Its great height gave it a dominating position

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over the rows of small shops and the narrow streets with which it is surrounded. From its windows those in possession could sweep with their rifles the congested approaches to the building, and it may be doubted if anything short of concentrated shell fire could have driven them out of it. As a matter of fact they held it undisputed to the last. The garrison numbered 200 volunteers, and they had a plentiful supply of food from the stock in the factory. So abundant, indeed, was the food supply that the barricades at the windows were constructed of flour and sugar bags. Four policemen were captured by the Volunteers and placed in custody in the factory. These police were told by one of the insurgent commandants (1) that France had withdrawn from the war, (2) that England was seeking a separate peace, (3) that the coast of Ireland was surrounded by German submarines, (4) that 30,000 Germans had landed in Kerry and a similar number of Irish-Americans in Wex-



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ford, and that they were marching on Dublin. The police were also informed that there were risings in Limerick, Kerry, Cork, and Tyrone, and that Irish prisoners of war in Germany were coming to the assistance of the Irish Republic. Fed on such fantastic stories as these the insurgents in the biscuit factory, provided with an abundant supply of food, sniped continuously all the week at any military they could see, but owing to the narrow thoroughfares and the shelter available all round, the losses of either the insurgents or the military were not large in this particular locality. After the evacuation of the corner public-house next Portobello Canal Bridge, the insurgents made no further concerted attempt to menace the approaches to the military barracks in this district. A sniper or two occasionally appeared in private houses in the neighbourhood and potted at sentries or passing soldiers. Such guerilla tactics were very difficult to detect or to finish, because generally the inhabitants of the houses

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from which the shots were fired were too terrified to do anything save huddle in a basement, and when as often occurred, the military raided the house in strength, the sniper, or snipers, had disappeared to take up new quarters. It was a novel form of warfare, and quite surprised some soldiers who had been in Gallipoli. In the Peninsula, they said, they knew the Turks were in front, but in the Dublin revolt they never knew where a bullet might come from. The occupation of the South Dublin Union Workhouse by the insurgents was not left in their possession without a determined struggle. Attacked by the troops early in the week, they were driven from the grounds, and on attempting to evacuate the place suffered rather severe losses. The remainder, numbering about forty, stopped in the master's office and the board-room, which they barricaded. Here they started sniping at the soldiers outside. The losses on both sides were, however, rather heavy, and the military were hampered, es-

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pecially as regards the use of shell fire, by the proximity of an hospital, as well as of the large number of inmates in the vicinity. After the conflict for the grounds early in the week no further organised attempt was made on either side, and sniping commenced and continued to the end of the revolt. During the fighting a nurse was shot dead. In addition to the struggle in the workhouse, the district around was the scene of fierce fighting. A malting store was seized by the insurgents, as well as a number of houses in the streets. By heavy fire the troops succeeded in getting possession of the malting store. The rebels then made their way along the bank of a small river, evidently endeavouring to reach the open country, but the military were too strongly posted, and many were killed and captured. In the fighting two children were shot, and there were several casualties amongst civilians. Amongst those captured by the troops were a number of females, with arms in their hands, who had joined the insurgents.

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Another district where very serious fighting took place with heavy loss of life was in the vicinity of Green Street Courthouse. The insurgents obtained possession of an old barrack, which they fortified as best they could. They remained in possession until Thursday, when it was set on fire. The flames spread to adjoining premises, and much destruction of property was caused. New positions were taken up by the insurgents, and in the subsequent fighting the denizens of the crowded and narrow streets which abound in the locality suffered severely. In a dairy the bodies of four dead men were found in a top back bedroom. As many of the Volunteers fought without any uniform or accoutrement beyond rifles and a belt of ammunition, it was very difficult in the case of dead civilians to detect whether they lost their lives as insurgents or as mere on-lookers. Caught by the fire, a number of police in Green Street Courthouse and barrack-room were unable to leave for six days, the buildings being literally covered



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with bullet marks. Close to this spot a struggle took place between the troops and the insurgents for possession of a timber-yard. The windows were held by the insurgents, but they were driven out by rifle and machine-gun fire from an armoured car. Severe and dangerous fighting also raged around a market and a bakery in the same neighbourhood. Cleverly posted snipers developed a positive art for concealment, and the troops were fired at from the most unexpected angles. Artillery was of little avail in such circumstances. By the time even a small gun could be trained on a building from which shots had been fired, the snipers had evacuated it and taken up a new position in another building. The narrow lanes and alleys, the tumble-down houses, the opportunities for those who knew the locality of utilising back-ways, and even of getting from house to house by means of the roofs—all these circumstances made the neighbourhood a truly ideal one for the adventurous and enterprising sniper. By Thursday in this

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fateful Easter week it was clear that unless the rebellion was to drag on into a sniping campaign that might last weeks or months, something drastic and determined would have to be done. It was decided that the place to destroy was the headquarters of the insurgents in and around the General Post Office. With the leaders of the revolt driven out of this place it was felt that the back of the rebellion would be broken. On that day the military authorities felt that they were strong enough to act with vigour and effect. The outlying strongholds of the insurgents were surrounded but not stormed. They could wait until after the main citadel of the rebels had been destroyed. Liberty Hall, the head offices of the Larkinites and the Citizen Army, was shelled and ruined by the *Helga*, a small gunboat that came up the river for the purpose. The City Hall and the newspaper offices at the corner of Cork Hill having been retaken, by the aid of hand grenades and machine-guns, the time was ripe for the attack on the General Post

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Office and the other large buildings held by the insurgents in Sackville Street. Thursday and Friday are days that will be long remembered by the people of Dublin. During those days and nights an almost uninterrupted fusillade was kept up, shells, machine-gun fire, and bullets and bombs being rained unceasingly on the insurgents in the centre of the city. The latter replied as best they could by rifle fire, but the artillery was doing its work. Giant fires lit up the sky from the General Post Office, and the beautiful buildings in its vicinity. The Volunteers sought such cover as they could find, but it was soon clear that not alone their headquarters at the General Post Office, but all the other buildings held by them around, would become untenable. Some of the volunteers made a dash to reach the adjoining streets not yet reached by the fire. The approaches leading to and from Sackville Street were, however, strongly held by the troops. They were in most of the buildings at the other side of the river. From

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Carlisle Building roof they had a clear view up Sackville Street. They were also posted in Earl Street, in Henry Street, and at the upper end of Sackville Street. As the insurgents endeavoured to retreat, therefore, they were enfiladed from all sides, and there were a number of casualties. Thus died Commandant the O'Rahilly, a prominent leader in the rebellion. His name was not affixed to the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, and it has even been stated that he was against a premature outbreak, but, once started, he joined the insurgents, and was in command of a body of men at the Post Office. His dead body was found in the street near the building, and it is presumed that like many others he was shot down as he was making his way from the flames to take up a new position. Another prominent leader wounded at this quarter was James Connolly. The scene in Sackville Street on Friday night was a terrible one. Great buildings like the General Post Office, the Hotel Metropole, the Imperial Hotel, were



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ablaze. Whole streets were in peril of being destroyed, and were, in fact, burned to the ground, whilst the Fire Brigade, at the other side of the river, stood powerless. Amidst the crackling of the flames the constant, unceasing rattle of machine-gun and rifle fire was heard throughout the entire night, varied by the loud explosion of a shell or of insurgents' ammunition catching fire and exploding. Nevertheless, trapped as they were in blazing blocks of buildings, the rebels kept up their fire to the end, and from ruined and blackened buildings, as well as from premises partially burning, the crack of rifles was heard as they replied to the prolonged and concentrated fire of the military. To add to the weirdness and frightfulness of the scene, from the outskirts of the city also came the sharp rattle of rifle and machine-guns as the insurgents were being fired on in their strongholds or in private houses. Searchlights and star shells, lighting up the darkness of the night, completed a picture that might not unnaturally be com-

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pared to that of Dante's Inferno. In many of the poorer streets the night was made more hideous by the shrieks of women and children terrified out of their senses by the loud and sustained bombardment. By Saturday morning it was plain that the worst had been passed, and that the resistance of the Sinn Feiners, so far as their headquarters in the General Post Office were concerned, could not be prolonged. In fact, the Post Office itself was in ruins, together with whole blocks of valuable buildings in its neighbourhood. Firing was still briskly taking place by those insurgents who had managed to survive the hail of shells, bullets, and bombs, as well as to escape from the flames. Their radius, however, was completely circumscribed, and there was no avenue of escape, with every street leading from the locality in the hands of the military. From the bakery in Ringsend, the College of Surgeons in Stephen's Green, the biscuit factory of Jacob's, the South Dublin Union, the Four Courts, and other build-

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ings in the outlying parts of the city, the insurgents by their obstinate firing showed that they were not yet run out of ammunition or ready to surrender. This generally was the position about noon on the Saturday after Easter, the sixth day of the rebellion that had so suddenly and so dramatically broken out on the Easter Monday Bank Holiday.

## CHAPTER III

### END OF THE DUBLIN REVOLT

By noon on Saturday, though the insurgents still clung to the practically ruined and demolished remains of their headquarters in Sackville Street, and though they were still in possession of nearly all the important buildings they had seized on the outskirts, it was plain that the end, so far as Dublin was concerned, was very near. In fact, most people were surprised it had not come earlier. In the suburbs, especially, as the inhabitants watched the long files of troops newly-arrived from England, from Belfast, from the Curragh, and from the other depôts in the south and west, accompanied by artillery, and fully equipped with rifles, machine-guns and ammunition, the feeling



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was one of amazement that the insurgents, whom they surmised could not be very strong either in men or munitions, were still holding out after a week of incessant fighting.

On Friday, the day before the surrender, an order was sent from the General Post Office signed by James Connolly. Obviously its object was to cheer, if possible, the insurgents, who must have felt that they were hopelessly trapped. Evidently, owing to the cordon, which by that date was completely round the city, it could not reach all the rebel commandants, but a copy was found on the dead body of The O'Rahilly, one of the leaders. He was shot in the vicinity of the Post Office. The document is an interesting one, and reads as follows :

Army of the Irish Republic  
(Dublin Command),  
Headquarters, April 28, 1916.

TO SOLDIERS,—

This is the fifth day of the establishment of the Irish Republic, and the flag

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of our country still floats from the most important buildings in Dublin, and is gallantly protected by the officers and Irish soldiers in arms throughout the country. Not a day passes without seeing fresh postings of Irish soldiers eager to do battle for the old cause. Despite the utmost vigilance of the enemy we have been able to get in information telling us how the manhood of Ireland, inspired by our splendid action, are gathering to offer up their lives if necessary in the same holy cause. We are here hemmed in because the enemy feels that in this building is to be found the heart and inspiration of our great movement.

Let us remind you what you have done. For the first time in 700 years the flag of a free Ireland floats triumphantly in Dublin City.

The British Army, whose exploits we are for ever having dinned into our ears, which boasts of having stormed the Dardanelles and the German lines on the Marne, behind their artillery and machine-guns are afraid to advance to the attack or storm any positions held by our forces. The slaughter they suffered in the first few days has totally unnerved them, and they dare

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not attempt again an infantry attack on our positions.

Our Commandants around us are holding their own.

Commandant Daly's splendid exploit in capturing Linen Hall Barracks we all know. You must know also that the whole population, both clergy and laity, of this district are united in his praises. Commandant MacDonagh is established in an impregnable position reaching from the walls of Dublin Castle to Redmond's Hill, and from Bishop Street to Stephen's Green.

(In Stephen's Green, Commandant — holds the College of Surgeons, one side of the square, a portion of the other side, and dominates the whole Green and all its entrances and exits.)

Commandant De Valera stretches in a position from the Gas Works to Westland Row, holding Boland's Bakery, Boland's Mills, Dublin South-Eastern Railway Works, and dominating Merrion Square.

Commandant Kent holds the South Dublin Union and Guinness's Buildings to Marrowbone Lane, and controls James's Street and district.

On two occasions the enemy effected a

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lodgment and were driven out with great loss.

The men of North County Dublin are in the field, have occupied all the Police Barracks in the district, destroyed all the telegraph system on the Great Northern Railway up to Dundalk, and are operating against the trains of the Midland and Great Western.

Dundalk has sent 200 men to march upon Dublin, and in the other parts of the North our forces are active and growing.

In Galway Captain —, fresh after his escape from an Irish prison, is in the field with his men. Wexford and Wicklow are strong, and Cork and Kerry are equally acquitting themselves creditably. (We have every confidence that our Allies in Germany and kinsmen in America are straining every nerve to hasten matters on our behalf.)

As you know, I was wounded twice yesterday and am unable to move about, but have got my bed moved into the firing line, and, with the assistance of your officers, will be just as useful to you as ever.

Courage, boys, we are winning, and in the hour of our victory let us not forget the splendid women who have everywhere



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stood by us and cheered us on. Never had man or woman a grander cause, never was a cause more grandly served.

(Signed) JAMES CONNOLLY,  
Commandant-General,  
Dublin Division.

On Saturday morning the following official statement was issued from the military headquarters in Dublin, with reference to the Sackville Street area of operations :

The Sinn Fein rebels in this area are completely surrounded by a cordon of troops which is gradually closing on to the centre. The troops, assisted by artillery, are gradually overcoming resistance. One of the principal rebel leaders, P. H. Pearse, is known to be inside the cordon suffering from a fractured thigh. The Countess Markievicz has also been seen inside. Another leader, James Connolly, has been reported killed. The adjoining area containing the Four Courts is also surrounded by a cordon, which is closing on its centre and containing therein most of the rebels. A division, complete with artillery, is now operating in the Dublin area, and more

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troops are constantly arriving. Arrangements are being made to intern in England the Sinn Feiners captured or surrendered who are not dealt with here. Roger Casement has declared that Germany has sent all the assistance she is going to send, which assistance is now at the bottom of the sea.

This official report, published in Dublin, differed in some respects from the daily official report from Field-Marshal Viscount French, Commander-in-Chief, Home Forces, in which it was stated :

The situation this (Saturday) morning had improved considerably, but the rebels were still offering serious resistance in the neighbourhood of Sackville Street. The cordon of troops encircling this quarter was, however, steadily closing in, but the house-to-house fighting necessarily rendered this progress slow. The Post Office and a block of buildings east of Sackville Street have been destroyed by fire. A party of rebels have been driven out of Boland's Mills, Ringsend, by guns mounted on motor lorries. One of the rebel leaders, a man named Pearse, was

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said to be in this area, and was wounded in the leg. A report received this evening states that Pearse has surrendered unconditionally, and that he asserts he has authority to accept the same terms of surrender for his followers in Dublin. Another leader, James Connolly, is reported killed. The Four Courts district, which is still held by the rebels, is also surrounded by a cordon of troops, which is gradually closing in. All the information to hand points to the conclusion that the rebellion, so far as Dublin is concerned, is on the verge of collapse. A considerable number of rebels are prisoners in military custody.

It was about four o'clock on Saturday afternoon when the insurgents in the General Post Office intimated their readiness to surrender. The building was by this time a ruin, and so also were scores of other large buildings in the vicinity, so that further residence in this area was clearly out of the question. The end of the revolt in Dublin was signalled by the surrender of P. H. Pearse, the Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Republic, and

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President of the Provisional Government, to General J. G. Maxwell, Commanding-in-Chief the Forces in Ireland. With Pearse there surrendered, at the same time, James Connolly, styled Commander-General of the Dublin Division of the Republican Army, as well as other leaders who had signed the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. Some attempt seems to have been made by the leaders to try to secure terms for their followers, but this was obviously impossible, and both leaders and men had no option, therefore, but to give themselves up unconditionally. The terms of the surrender were set on record in a document signed by the insurgent leader in the presence of the British General and other Government officials. The surrender was announced to the public in the following terms :—

In order to prevent further slaughter of unarmed persons, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, members of the Provisional Government present at



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headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the Commanders of all units of the Republican Forces will order their followers to lay down their arms.—(Signed) P. H. PEARSE.

Thus ended the short-lived reign of the Irish Republic in Dublin. On Sunday, General French was able to report that rebels from the areas of Sackville Street Post Office and the Four Courts were surrendering freely. More incendiary fires, however, had taken place in Sackville Street, but the Fire Brigade was able to resume work. It was further reported that up to 6.45 p.m. on Sunday evening 707 prisoners had been taken. Included amongst these was the Countess Markievicz. The surrender of this lady was as dramatic as was her appearance in the revolt. The daughter of Sir Henry William Gore-Booth, fifth baronet, of Lissadell, County Sligo, she was related to several noble families in the British peerage. Forty years of age at the outbreak of the Rebellion, her career had been a varied

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and a chequered one. As a girl, she was reputed to be a splendid horse-woman, and she seemed gifted to be an ornament to society, but her restless and wayward disposition led her into the most strange company and the most remarkable adventures. She studied art in Paris, where she met her husband, Casimir Duvin Markievicz, who was incorrectly styled a count. The owner of a small estate near Kieff, Markievicz was by birth a Pole, and of an artistic temperament. When the couple came to Dublin they were associated for a time with theatrical enterprises. Then came the activities of James Larkin and his Syndicalist strikes, which plunged Dublin into turmoil and distress for several years. The Countess Markievicz, as she called herself, became an enthusiastic follower of Larkin, organised a band of women-workers to help the strikers, and played a prominent part in the exciting events that followed Larkin's dramatic appearance on the balcony of the Imperial Hotel in Sackville Street, Dublin, on a Sunday morning. She was

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also a suffragette. When the Citizen Army was formed out of the remains of Larkin's followers, and when this force joined, after the split in the ranks of the Irish National Volunteers, with the Sinn Fein, or revolutionary section, the Countess continued to be identified with the movement now dominated, to a large extent, by James Connolly, the erstwhile lieutenant of James Larkin. Some months before the rising her house was raided by the police, and arms, ammunition, and seditious literature seized. Then came the rebellion itself, in which the Countess found herself in her element. The most amazing stories were in circulation as to the part she played in the revolt. She was said to have shot a policeman and a soldier. Dressed in man's attire, fantastic tales were repeated as to her doings. Her headquarters were at the Royal College of Surgeons in Stephen's Green, where she was in command of 120 insurgents, who remained in possession of the building from the start of the revolt right to the very finish. When

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it was decided to surrender eventually, a white flag was hoisted, and a communication sent to the officer commanding the attacking forces to say the garrison in the College was ready to come out.

Of what followed, a picturesque account by an eye-witness was published in the *Daily Mail*:—

At the appointed hour Countess Markievicz marched out of the College followed by her force, walking two abreast. She was dressed entirely in green—green tunic, a green hat with a green feather in it, green puttees, and green boots. It was a rather impressive scene. She marched to where the opposing force was waiting, and, going up to the officer in command, saluted, put her revolver to her lips and kissed it before handing it to him, gave up her bandolier, and announced that she was ready. The men were disarmed, and the squad was marched under an armed escort through Grafton Street and Dame Street to the Castle.

Despite the order to his followers by P. H. Pearse, the reputed leader in the



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movement, commanders in the outlying districts still continued the struggle on Sunday and Monday. On Sunday, Commandant De Valera, who was in charge of the operations at Boland's Bakery and the Distillery in the Ringsend district, surrendered. The despair caused by the hopeless struggle of just a week was shown by the remarks attributed to the leader at this point, when giving himself up to the military: "Shoot me," he said, "if you will, but arrange for my men." Then, as he walked up and down waiting for the preliminaries of the capture to be arranged, he added: "If only the people had come out with knives and forks." In the case of Jacob's biscuit factory, it was a Catholic clergyman who was instrumental in bringing to the notice of the insurgents inside the order of their leader. This was also on the Sunday. Shortly after the volunteers marched out, leaving their flag flying behind them. On the same night, after just a week's occupation of portion of the South Dublin Union, the insurgents quitted the

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fort they held. Their numbers, owing to heavy losses, had been seriously depleted, but, despite this, they stubbornly refused to surrender until they received authentic information that such was the order of their leaders. Their final effort was made in the Board-room of the institution, which they fortified with the heavy books from the offices of the Union officials. Almost the last stand, so far as any important building was concerned, was made by the insurgents in the Four Courts. Here they had repeated on a larger scale the tactics adopted at the South Dublin Union. Huge legal tomes were utilised to protect the snipers in the windows. Any furniture that could be dragged from the interior of the Courts was placed as a barricade at the main entrance. The marks of thousands of bullets from rifles and machine-guns showed how severe was the fusillade around the Courts. The troops had been able to gradually throw a cordon around the building, and even had not the General Post Office fallen it would have

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been only a question of a very short time before the insurgents in the Four Courts would have been compelled to capitulate. Considerable anxiety was felt in the legal profession in Dublin lest the occupation of the Courts should result in irreparable damage to the valuable records, and much relief was experienced when it became known that though a large number of documents had inevitably been tossed yet there was no wholesale destruction. The recapture by the military authorities of the General Post Office, Boland's bakery, the Royal College of Surgeons, Jacob's factory, the South Dublin Union, and the Four Courts practically placed them again in complete possession of the city. On Monday, at 7 p.m., Field-Marshal French was able to announce: "All the rebels in Dublin have surrendered and the city is reported to be quite safe." This applied to compact bodies of insurgents who surrendered *en masse*. As a matter of fact, during Sunday and Monday, and even on Tuesday, isolated snipers still continued at work.

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This was especially the case in the narrow and congested district of Ringsend. They kept up during Monday night an irregular fire from houses and from the railway line in the vicinity. On Tuesday at 7 p.m. Field-Marshal French reported: "Dublin is gradually reverting to its normal condition. The work of clearing some small districts around Irishtown is being carried out by an ever-contracting cordon." By Wednesday the last of the snipers had been silenced, and the work of searching in the areas frequented by them began in earnest. This was rendered difficult by reason of the lack of a distinctive uniform. Numbers of the volunteers, of course, wore dark green tunics and puttees resembling in all but colour the regular uniforms of the British soldiers. The great majority, however, fought, as did the Boers in South Africa, with bandoliers swung over their ordinary working-day clothes. When at the conclusion of hostilities they discarded their rifles and ammunition, and mingled with the ordinary people in the streets, it was no



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easy task to identify them. Those, however, who were taken with arms in their hands were removed to places of detention under strong military armed escorts, and hundreds of them were deported to England. A description by an eye-witness of the appearance of these men is interesting, as it typifies that of the great majority of the insurgents who were up in arms in Dublin. Most of the men wore their work-a-day clothes, but there were a few amongst them who could be classed as intellectuals, men who were to be found in the learned professions :—

“The most surprising thing of all was the appearance of the men. The spirit of defiance and hatred which kept them fighting against overwhelming odds for upwards of a week, and bade them throw in their lot with Great Britain’s deadly enemy, was, notwithstanding their miserable condition, firmly stamped on their faces. There was a striking incident when a young Sinn Féin officer, who could not have been much more than twenty, came on board. He was wear-

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ing the full uniform of the Irish Volunteers, with cap, Sam Browne belt, and pack. Standing six feet in height, with a clean open countenance, he calmly folded his arms and stood on deck in the glare of the light of an officer's electric torch. There was no evidence of fear written upon his face—it reflected nothing but determination—and upon the word of command he passed down to his quarters with the other men without uttering a word. Another prisoner in mufti, as he reached the deck, fervently exclaimed in my hearing: 'Are we downhearted? Good-bye, Ireland.' He probably would have said more had he not been hurried on. Each of the prisoners, as he came on board, was handed a life-belt, and although the accommodation was somewhat crowded it cannot be said that they were very uncomfortable, considering the circumstances. It is stated that among the prisoners were women in male clothing."

Such was the interesting description of the first batch of prisoners sent to England, written by a special correspondent of the Press Association. The reference to the women in male clothes was very probably

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correct—certainly, if it did not apply to the prisoners on the boat it was applicable to others who were either captured or surrendered. There were large numbers of women with the insurgents; some, of course, were wives, sisters, and sweethearts, who helped to cook, and to nurse them when wounded. Others, like the Countess Markievicz, were actually in the firing line. The male insurgents belonged to all classes. Numbers of these—especially in the Citizen Army—were ordinary dock labourers and workingmen. Embittered against the capitalists of Dublin, soured by their defeats in the labour troubles, seeing their masters on the side of Great Britain in the war, they were only too glad to plunge Dublin once more into turmoil and disturbance. In James Connolly they found a leader in whom they had probably more real confidence than in James Larkin. These men were more anarchists than insurgent Irishmen. Very different were the young men belonging to the Irish Volunteers. Many of them hailed from the country districts and occupied

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positions in Dublin as grocers' assistants and behind drapery counters. An inventory taken of the occupations of several hundred prisoners removed from the Richmond Barracks, Dublin, on April 30th, and lodged in Knutsford Detention Barracks, England, shows the various types of men that were found in the ranks of the insurgents. The list included :

Actors,	Coopers,
Apprentices,	Drapers,
Artists,	Drillers,
Bakers,	Electricians,
Barmen,	Engineers,
Barristers,	Farmers,
Belt-makers,	Farriers,
Bookbinders,	Firemen,
Boiler-makers,	Gardeners,
Brush-makers,	Goods-checkers,
Cabinet-makers,	Grocers,
Canvassers,	Grocers' Assistants,
Carmen,	Grooms,
Carpenters,	Hairdressers,
Caretakers,	Hole-borers,
Carters,	Insurance Agents,
Chauffeurs,	Insurance Inspectors,
Clerks,	Journalists,
Coach-builders,	Labourers,



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Law Clerks,	Riveters,
Librarians,	School Teachers,
Locksmiths,	Sewing Machine Agents.
Loco. Firemen,	Shorthand-typists,
Mattress-makers,	Shirt-cutters,
Motor-drivers,	Shunters,
Night Watchmen,	Slaters,
Office Boys,	Students,
Painters,	Tailors,
Paper-cutters,	Upholsterers,
Plumbers,	Vanmen,
Porters,	Waiters,
Poulterers,	Wax-bleachers,
Printers,	Weavers,
Professors,	Wood-workers.

Amongst the insurgents, in addition to educated men who had endeavoured to make a study of the peculiar kind of warfare which they had decided to undertake, were men well fitted to assist them mechanically. There were, it is true, but few munition factories in Dublin, or in Ireland generally, but from the few there were came men to assist in making bombs and hand grenades for the insurgents. These were, of course, of a primitive kind, old tins being utilised for the purpose. The

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supply of explosives, too, was not adequate enough to render them really effective. In some cases, indeed, the bombs were more dangerous to the rebels than to the troops. A captive British officer in the hands of the insurgents in the General Post Office saw one of the latter endeavour to place a bomb in position, when it exploded prematurely and blew his head off. These bombs were charged with melinite and fitted with wicks attached to fuses at the outer end. From the same source it was learned that the insurgents possessed arms of the most various patterns : Mauser and Holton rifles, army weapons, automatic rifles, sporting guns, revolvers, and automatic pistols of every conceivable type. Among the insurgents in this building were electricians, engineers, and experts in the use of warlike weapons. They possessed stores of gelignite, cordite, gun-cotton, and dynamite. Some of the latter had been imported into the country in boxes labelled margarine. Undoubtedly the volunteers numbered in their ranks and were assisted

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by many time-expired soldiers, who possessed a knowledge of arms and of military operations. The great defect of the insurgents was that they possessed no artillery of any description. Once artillery, therefore, was used against them it was manifest that they could not expect to hold out. Probably, as they entrenched themselves in the large and imposing buildings in Sackville Street, including such an important Government establishment as the General Post Office, the idea may have gained belief that the military authorities would not use cannon to batter them out of their headquarters in this neighbourhood. The fact, too, that the private buildings they occupied in this street, the large and beautiful hotels, the imposing shops and offices, all belonging to loyalists of the most unimpeachable devotion to the British Crown and connection, may have convinced the insurgents that the Government would spare these premises so far as shell fire was concerned. Well barricaded, well supplied with rifles and ammunition, under no imme-

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diate anxiety as regards food supplies, they may well have believed that they could hold out here for a considerable time and inflict very heavy losses on the troops in the event of storming operations. When the first shells came whistling, therefore, over the Post Office, their leaders must have clearly realised that the military authorities meant, by the most drastic means, to end the rebellion, even if by doing so Government buildings and important private and business establishments were destroyed. It was only, however, after they had been literally shelled and burned out of their headquarters that the leaders capitulated. The same fate would eventually have soon overtaken those insurgents in the outlying strongholds such as Boland's bakery, the Royal College of Surgeons, Jacob's factory, the South Dublin Union, and the Four Courts. It was a realisation of this undoubted fact that made the leaders surrender, as they themselves stated, for the purpose of saving the lives of their followers. As one



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saw the latter march forth after the capitulation it was evident, as was afterwards affirmed in Parliament and elsewhere, that in many cases they had not fully realised the dangerous adventure into which they had entered. Many of them were young men and even boys, and as they had on several previous occasions taken part in mimic operations, it was very probable that they at first took the Easter Monday proceedings as merely practice in street fighting. Once engaged in the real and deadly work of insurrection they fought with the traditional inclination of young Irishmen and obeyed the orders of their leaders with zeal and fidelity. The fertility of the resources both of leaders and of men in some quarters was remarkable. Insurgents disguised as women indulged in sniping in some quarters. In other cases, rebels, who knew every hole and corner of Dublin, were ordered to discard their weapons and to mingle with the people in the streets for the purpose of procuring information as to the movements of the troops. It was

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probably to information gleaned from this source that the attack on the military in the Mount Street Bridge area was due. Up to Friday the military cordon, though effective so far as the outskirts of the city, was not drawn sufficiently tight in the centre to prevent insurgents from getting in and out. It has even been reported that insurgents were able up to that day to leave their comrades in such buildings as Jacob's factory, Boland's mill, and St. Stephen's Green, return home to their families in the suburbs, take their meals, and return with information as to the movements of the troops to their brothers-in-arms during the night. Undoubtedly, it was due to this exact knowledge of Dublin on the part of the insurgents and the lack of such knowledge on the part of English Territorial regiments sent to quell the revolt that so many military casualties occurred. It was not until Wednesday, May 3rd, that the last of the snipers was silenced and that the rattle of rifle fire was heard for the last time in the streets of Dublin.

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Immediately the revolt was quelled the following order was issued to the troops by General Sir John G. Maxwell, Commanding-in-Chief the Forces in Ireland :—

I desire to thank the troops who have been engaged in the City of Dublin for their splendid behaviour under the trying conditions of street fighting which I found it necessary for them to undertake. Owing to the excellent direction of the officers and the tireless efforts of the troops, all the surviving rebels in Dublin have now surrendered unconditionally. I especially wish to express my gratitude to those Irish regiments which have so largely helped to crush this rising. Many instances of very gallant behaviour have been brought to my notice, which I am unable to refer to in this order ; but I must express my admiration of the conduct of a small detachment from the 6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment, which, when convoying ammunition, was attacked in Charles Street, and after a splendid defence for three and a half days, during which their leaders were struck down, safely delivered the ammunition.

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Other tributes were also paid by British and Irish journalists to the coolness and bravery of the troops, who, after long and arduous journeys from Great Britain, were suddenly called upon to undertake the singular form of fighting which developed in the streets of Dublin. This feeling was voiced by King George who, on the announcement of the end of the revolt, sent the following message to General Maxwell :—

Now that the recent lamentable outbreak has finally been quelled, I wish to express to my gallant troops in Ireland, to the Royal Irish Constabulary, and to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, my deep sense of the whole-hearted devotion to duty and the spirit of self-sacrifice with which throughout they have acted.

The numbers of the insurgents in Dublin have been variously estimated. Probably the exact figure will never be known as, owing to the lack of a distinctive uniform, there were losses and defections of which even the leaders of the movement were not



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aware. It is possible, however, to arrive at an approximate estimate, which may not be found to be very wide of the mark. The strength of the Dublin battalions of the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers was regarded, with some reason for belief in its accuracy, as being roughly about 5,000 before the outbreak. The followers of James Connolly in the Citizen Army would not muster more than a couple of hundred. The cancellation of the Easter manœuvres by Professor MacNeill prevented numbers of the volunteers from mobilising in Dublin on Easter Monday. When the other leaders of the movement decided to go on with the enterprise, therefore, they were able to muster probably between two and three thousand men altogether in Dublin. There were excursion trains running into Dublin for the Easter holidays, and it is possible the ranks of the Dublin Volunteers were strengthened by the presence of volunteers from the country districts. Indeed, a reference to men from outside the city being in the ranks of the

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Dublin contingents is made in the *Irish War News*, published by the insurgents on the second day of the rising. Adding the followers of Connolly, therefore, it is possible that the insurgent leaders had, in the Dublin area, between two and three thousand followers on the first day of the revolt. The comparative simplicity with which they took possession of the city may have induced many of their followers to remain in the ranks, and even to have induced those who, following the MacNeill order, had not mobilised, to throw in their lot with the insurgents. By Thursday, however, when authentic reports circulated through the city of the enormous numbers of troops arriving from all points of the compass and armed with artillery, the serious and desperate nature of the enterprise may have caused defections in the ranks of such bodies of insurgents as were not completely surrounded by the troops. The extent of such defections will possibly never be fully known; but, judging by the numbers of prisoners taken, there could not

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have been more than a couple of thousand men in arms by the Saturday morning, and many of these managed to escape from the military by donning ordinary civilian clothes and discarding their arms and ammunition. Some of them were identified and arrested. Others, thanks to the efforts of friends and relations, managed to escape detection. In any event, with the surrender of the leaders and their immediate followers, with the rounding up of the few snipers who persisted for days in eluding pursuit, and with the complete occupation of the city by the military, all signs of the revolt, so far as attacks on the troops were concerned, had ceased by Wednesday, May 3rd, and from that day business began again to be somewhat normally resumed, though martial law still ruled in Dublin, and it had to be rigorously obeyed by the people.

## CHAPTER IV

### OUTBREAKS IN THE COUNTRY

IT has always been an axiom amongst Irish revolutionaries that the possession of Dublin would lead to a general rising in the country. From the days of Robert Emmet, who, in 1803, attempted to seize the Castle, it was believed by rebel writers and leaders that once that symbol of British power in Ireland was taken the moral effect would be so great in the provinces that each city and town would rush to arms. Failing the capture of Dublin Castle there was an idea that the possession and retention for some days of other prominent buildings in Dublin would result in outbreak in the country, for which the insurgent leaders in Ireland have



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always hoped and prayed. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to trace the connection between the landing of Sir Roger Casement off the South coast in Ireland and the bursting out of the revolt in Dublin. The county Kerry was known as a place—one out of four or five in the provinces—where extreme views were held by a more or less numerous part of the population. The Irish, or Sinn Fein, Volunteers were strong in the county. Probably for that reason it might have been considered a suitable place from which to arm and equip such members of the force as had been drilled, but were not yet supplied with rifles. In any event, it was somewhere in this county that Sir Roger Casement was captured, and it was off the South and West coast of Ireland that the attempt was made, a few days before Easter, to land arms from a disguised German vessel, escorted by a submarine. When challenged and chased the vessel was scuttled, and a number of those on board taken prisoners. It was from the

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submarine that three individuals landed, one of whom was Casement. This is not the place to deal with his activities beyond pointing out the undoubted fact that his landing and capture in Ireland preceded by but a few days the outbreak of the rebellion in Dublin. It is not difficult to piece together the main features of what might have happened had Casement been able to raise a force in the South or West of Ireland, and had a sufficient number of arms been landed from a German vessel, presumably with German instructors, to equip some thousands of volunteers. In any event, whatever may have been any secret plans of the kind, the fact remains that if they were ever conceived they were destined to failure as the result of the arrest of Sir Roger Casement and the destruction of the German vessel containing arms. In the county of Kerry itself, reputed in various places to be a hot-bed of revolt, there was no attempt at a rising. Some Sinn Fein Volunteers at Castle Gregory, on the extreme West coast, about

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sixteen miles from Tralee, turned out to the number of about thirty, with rifles, and paraded the country. Next morning troops, who travelled in motor-cars, arrested seven members in their beds, and seized their rifles. During the remainder of the rebellion the authorities were able to report that the situation in the county Kerry was normal, with the exception of a slight affair at a village named Firies, between Tralee and Killarney, where two policemen belonging to the Royal Irish Constabulary were fired upon and wounded, one of them seriously, after they had posted up a proclamation concerning martial law. It was on Wednesday, April 26th, that martial law was extended to the whole of Ireland, and in a further proclamation, dated Saturday, April 29th, martial law for all Ireland was ordered for one month. General Sir John Maxwell was appointed to the command of the British Forces in Ireland, and was given plenary powers. It was in the county of Dublin and the adjoining county of Louth

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from which the first disturbances were reported. On Wednesday (April 26th) the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief reported from Dublin :—" There has been a small rising at Ardee, Louth, and a rather more serious one at Swords and Lusk, close to Dublin." Taking the events in the order mentioned, the story of what happened in county Louth is as follows : On Easter Monday a party of armed men passed the village of Castle Bellingham proceeding towards Dunleer. They were stopped by some police, but the latter were covered with revolvers and searched. One of the policemen was fatally shot. After holding a military officer up for some time the men left the place in motors, and their subsequent movements were lost sight of. Whether they proceeded to Dublin and joined the insurgents there, or whether they disbanded, is not quite clear, but no organised attempt was made to hold any town or village in the county. On Friday, April 28th, some fifteen Sinn Fein Volunteers entered and seized a tower at Bar-



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meath Castle, county Louth, the residence of Lord Bellew. They posted armed sentries, but molested nobody. They subsequently evacuated the place, and apparently dispersed. This was the beginning and the end of the rising so far as Louth was concerned. In the county Dublin, as the General Officer Commanding reported, the attempt made was more serious. It was on Wednesday, two days after the outbreak in the city, that the volunteers in the county Dublin village of Swords began operations. Some fifty men, fully armed, surrounded the post office and the police barracks, and took possession of the buildings. The insurgents were led by a doctor and a schoolmaster. They took prisoners a police sergeant and two constables, commandeered their arms and ammunition, and then proceeded to wreck the telegraph instruments in the post office. They did not touch the money or the postal matter. One of the insurgents climbed a telegraph pole and cut the wires. Some bread having been commandeered the insurgents left in

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the direction of Donabate, and received reinforcements on the way. They blew up a railway bridge at Rogerstown, and destroyed the levers in the signal cabin. They then attacked the police station in Donabate, which was guarded by a sergeant and two constables armed with rifles. In order to understand these operations it must be realised that the Royal Irish Constabulary, unlike the police force in Great Britain, constitute a semi-military force, armed with rifles, and ready at all times to know how to act in the case of an insurrection. In the firing one of the constables was wounded, and the other police surrendered, their arms and ammunition being taken from them. The post office was next entered, the telegraph instruments broken, and the wires cut. Towards the end of the week the insurgents encamped between Fieldstown and Kilsallaghan, where, on Sunday morning, they received word of the proclamation signed by the Dublin insurgent leader, Pearse, advising all his followers to surrender unconditionally.

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The Swords' men were incredulous, but after some time agreed to send one of their troop, in company with a policeman, to the military barracks in Dublin, where they learned that the surrender order was general. That evening they capitulated, and, to the number of over 100, were conveyed to Dublin by a strong escort, composed of Lancers and Hussars. A large number of rifles, eighty or ninety revolvers, and over 30,000 rounds of ammunition were also surrendered. A quantity of gelignite was also found in the village of Swords. There were several casualties in the ranks of the insurgents, whilst, in addition to those who surrendered in arms, a number of other arrests in the Swords district was also made subsequently. During the height of the trouble in this locality it was feared that the Marconi station would be attacked. A destroyer, however, landed some hundreds of men of the North Staffordshire Regiment, and these entrenched around the station. Two gunboats also patrolled the coast, their guns being within

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reach of the roads by which the insurgents were expected to attack the station. The volunteers probably heard of these preparations, because they did not come in this direction. It was at a place called Ashbourne, in the adjoining county of Meath, that the most serious affray outside of the city of Dublin occurred. The insurgents having attacked Ashbourne Police Barracks, a party of fifty police, in ten motor-cars, under the command of County Inspector Gray and District Inspector Smyth, proceeded to the relief of the small force locked up in the barracks. As they were passing by a place called Rathgate they were fired upon by the insurgents, who had secreted themselves in a small wood by the side of the road. Several of the police were shot dead, and others wounded. The remainder sprang from the motor-cars and took such cover as they could find. A five hours' struggle then took place between the police and the insurgents, and at its conclusion the constabulary, having exhausted all their



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ammunition, were compelled to surrender. Eight policemen, including the county inspector and the district inspector (the latter an ex-Army officer), lost their lives in this desperate roadside encounter, and fourteen were wounded. The rebels also lost several killed and injured. Having taken the police prisoners, the insurgents next proceeded to attack in strength the police station at Ashbourne, the garrison of which consisted of eleven constabularymen. The insurgents threatened to blow up the barracks, and under the circumstances, resistance being useless, the police surrendered. The insurgents, having cut all the telegraph wires, bivouacked in the vicinity, and after hoisting the flag of the "Irish Republic" on another police barracks that they captured at Garristown, were preparing for further operations when word reached them of the Dublin surrenders. They then capitulated. The story of the rising in the county Wexford provides a most interesting, but fortunately bloodless, little

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chapter. It was perfectly well known in Ireland that if trouble broke out in Dublin Enniscorthy would soon be in arms. The war had not been long in progress when arrests were made in this locality. It was here that notices were posted up advising the people that "if the Germans landed they would come, not as enemies, but as friends." In no part of Ireland were the Irish or Sinn Fein Volunteers stronger or more determined. The reasons for this were mainly historic. Near Enniscorthy stands Vinegar Hill, where the insurgents, in 1798, put up a fight against British troops that is still remembered in the district. It was not surprising, therefore, when intelligence reached Enniscorthy of the events in Dublin on Easter Monday, that an attempt was made at insurrection in the excited little town by the Slaney. Enniscorthy contains about 5,000 inhabitants, and is a prosperous place in ordinary times. In Easter week, however, business was neglected, and the town seethed with excitement over the news of the revo-

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lution in Dublin. It was Thursday morning, however, before the insurgents were ready to act. About two o'clock that day, to the number of over two hundred, they seized the Athenæum, one of the most prominent buildings in the town, and proceeded to convert it into their headquarters. They attacked the police station, which was defended by constables armed with rifles, but were unable to obtain possession. One of the constables was wounded, and this, singular to say, was the only casualty in the whole rising so far as the county Wexford was concerned. The insurgents next turned their attention to the railway station. They cut the telephone and telegraph wires, tore up the line, held up and took possession of a train that was proceeding from Wexford to Arklow with 300 working men for Kynoch's munition factory. They tried to blow up a bridge at Scara Walsh over the River Slaney, and were also about to destroy the viaduct at Enniscorthy, but at the last moment changed their minds. They comman-

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deered over a score of motor-cars in the town, took control of various houses which controlled the roads leading to Enniscorthy, and then extended their operations into the adjoining country. They advanced and captured the town of Ferns, making an old mansion in the vicinity their headquarters. They were about to progress in the Gorey direction when the arrival of the military made them retire on their main position, which they had hastily fortified by digging some trenches. Some thought seems to have been bestowed on the advisability of imitating the example of their ancestors and making a stand on the dominating height of Vinegar Hill, but in the absence of artillery it was felt that this would be an impossible position to maintain. They still, however, held the town of Enniscorthy, where the flag of the "Irish Republic" was hoisted. Their mode of procedure whilst in occupation of the town for several days was interesting. By order of the leaders all the public-houses were closed, and a number of the



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inhabitants were sworn in as special constables. The townspeople were required to keep indoors, and a species of insurgent martial law was in force. Scouting parties on motor-cars, motor-bicycles, and ordinary bicycles scoured the country for miles around, and as all the wires were cut, the post office in possession of the insurgents, and the telephones also out of use, the town of Enniscorthy and the district around were for several days cut off from all communication with the outside world. Supplies of food were commandeered from the local traders, the bakers being required to work for that purpose. It was about midday on the Sunday after Easter when word was conveyed to the rebels of the surrenders in Dublin. The leaders were, however, sceptical, and the unusual course was taken of allowing two of them to proceed, under military escort, to Dublin, to verify the news. These two leaders interviewed Pearse, "the commander of the armies of the Irish Republic," and they also saw the ruins of Sackville Street and the effect of

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artillery fire. On their return to Enniscorthy they agreed, therefore, after consultation with their men, to surrender. The arrival of a large force of military with artillery would, in any event, have convinced them that their struggle was hopeless. On Monday morning a force of 1,000 troops, comprising cavalry, infantry and artillery, under the command of Colonel French, entered the town, which from the previous Thursday had been almost completely in the possession of the insurgents. A number of the latter disbanded on the Sunday night, and returned to their homes, but many were subsequently arrested, including the leaders, who numbered six, two of whom were journalists, one a labour society clerk, one a vintner, another a Labour Exchange clerk, and the sixth an ordinary clerk. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were taken by the military. Thus ended the rising in the county Wexford, where the trouble was confined to the district around Enniscorthy, Ferns, and Gorey.

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In Wexford town itself the National Volunteers, who were followers of Mr. Redmond, turned out to assist the military and police, and 600 special constables were enrolled, the Mayor being of the number. Arrests of sympathisers of the insurgents were numerous, many prominent people being placed in custody. The last place in the country from which any serious attempt at a rising was made was in the West. On Easter Tuesday, the day after the outbreak in Dublin, nearly 500 insurgents assembled in the Oranmore district and captured the town. The police barracks were rushed and the police captured. At Oranmore, about three miles from Galway, a police constable was shot dead, and the news reached Galway that the insurgents were marching on that city, the capital town of the province of Connaught. They had, in fact, reached a place called Merlin Park, and were also threatening the town from another point. In the town itself the most alarming rumours were in circulation, and as owing to the outbreak

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in Dublin it was completely cut off from the outside world, the citizens who were opposed to the rising met and formed a Committee of Public Safety. Business was at once suspended, and the police made a number of arrests of prominent people in the University and outside who were suspected of sympathy with the revolt. The National Volunteers turned out to assist the police, special constables were sworn in, and the Loyalists made an estimate of their strength, which, so far as armed men were concerned, did not at the time exceed one hundred. Meanwhile the insurgents from the Oranmore district were engaged in cutting the railway line, and further isolating Galway town. A body of them were actually marching on the town when they were shelled from a gunboat in Galway Bay, and they thereupon retreated. On Thursday troops and marines were landed for the purpose of engaging the insurgents. The latter, now stated to be over 1,000 strong, were encamped at Moyode Castle, near Athenry. They had



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been busy for some days commandeering supplies of cattle and food with the evident intention of making a stand in some more favourable position. When the news of the Dublin surrenders reached them the greater portion of the insurgents dispersed. The remnant took to the hills, where the rounding up proceeded for some time after. The leader of the insurgents in the West was stated to be a Captain Mel-  
lowes, whose history was enveloped in some mystery. A man of the name had been deported some months before the rebellion, but was said to have made his way back again to Ireland disguised as a priest. It is estimated that between 300 and 400 of the insurgents under his command were armed with rifles and the remainder with sporting guns and scythes and pitchforks. There were fifteen to twenty women with the insurgents, and these did the cooking for them. The intention probably was to capture and try to hold Galway, but the shells from the gunboat in the bay possibly conveyed the

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clear intimation that even if they secured possession of the town itself their retention of it could not be prolonged in view of artillery fire from the sea, to which they would be unable to reply. If the risings in the Midlands, in Wexford county, and in the West were rather aimless and abortive, the proceedings in Cork were absolutely farcical. For some remarkable reason this city rejoiced for many years in the title of "Rebel Cork," though how it was deserved is not very easily discernible, considering the fact that the most the rebels belonging to it have ever accomplished has been a very considerable amount of talk. They did not belie their reputation on this particular occasion. Some plan seems to have been arranged to imitate the example of the Dublin insurgents and to seize the General Post Office and other prominent buildings in the city. This plan, however, never matured. Instead, such followers as there were of the revolutionary movement assembled and very prudently decided to stand by the

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cancellation order which had been issued on the Saturday before the outbreak in Dublin. In any event, had they attempted, after the news of the rising in Dublin, to emulate the example in that city they would have been too late, as the General Post Office in Cork was promptly held by the military. The leaders were visited by the Catholic Bishop, to whom an undertaking was given that the volunteers would not attempt any outbreak. There was, of course, a good deal of excitement in the city due to the absence of news from Dublin, and many alarming rumours were in circulation, but from first to last there was not a single attempt made at a rising, and "the Cork Comedy," as it was called, provided the only comic interlude of the rebellion. Stories were printed in the London Press of midnight vigils, of insurgent leaders eagerly waiting for news, of prolonged appeals to them and their men to attempt nothing in the way of a rising, and of the wise decision of the Cork men, after an immense amount of

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talk, to lay down their arms. In the county of Cork the only place where any incident of note occurred was at Fermoy, where the police, on attempting to arrest two men in their houses, were met by armed resistance, and a head constable was shot dead. On the arrival of military reinforcements the occupants of the house surrendered. At Mallow, in the same county, the military placed a strong guard at the railway station, and erected emplacements for guns on the viaduct over the Blackwater. Barbed wire was used on the roadway, and permits were required from motorists. No attack, however, on the troops took place at this spot or in any part of Cork county or city. The rebellion, if ever such a thing was really contemplated in this district, was therefore a fiasco so far as the extreme South-West was concerned. In Limerick, where the Irish or Sinn Fein Volunteers were strong, the surrender of rifles and ammunition took place peaceably. The county of Tipperary, a hot-bed of agitation during the stormy days of the Land



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League, also remained quiet, and the inhabitants took no part in the rising. Addressing the people in Tipperary town on the Sunday after Easter, the Roman Catholic Archbishop congratulated them on having taken no share in the rebellion. The history of the past, he said, showed that all revolutionary measures were doomed to failure. Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Waterford also kept aloof from the outbreak, and on Monday, May 1st, Field-Marshal Sir John French, so far as the South was concerned, was able to report: "Wicklow, Arklow, Dunlavin, Bagnalstown, Wexford, New Ross, counties Cork, Clare, Limerick, and Kerry are generally quiet." The whole of Ulster was at the same time reported quiet. Prompt military measures taken in that province put an end to any possibility of an outbreak even if any had been planned. In the county Tyrone, where it was thought the rising might possibly start, the authorities took early measures to suppress it in the event of a mobilisation of the Irish or Sinn

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Fein Volunteers in that neighbourhood. Over 100 motor-cars were placed at the disposal of the military, and flying columns were sent in various directions. In Dunganon the post office and the telephone wires were placed under a strong guard, and a search for concealed guns resulted in 3,000 rounds of ammunition in cases and bandoliers being seized by the military. In Belfast and other towns in the North a number of arrests were made, and precautionary measures were generally taken, but no attempt at resistance was made by the volunteers, who were taken prisoners. In Ulster, as in the other provinces, search was made for arms and ammunition belonging to the Irish or Sinn Fein Volunteers, and a considerable quantity was seized. In this manner ended the outbreaks in the country. They were mainly put down by the police, who suffered losses numbering fourteen killed (including two officers) and twenty-three wounded. At no point in the provinces was any compact body of troops actually in conflict with the

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insurgents, nor did the military suffer any casualties. The rising, indeed, so far as the country was concerned, was an almost complete failure. In Wexford, as well as in Drogheda, the National Volunteers, all supporters of Mr. Redmond and his party, turned out to assist the military and police. In Limerick, in Cork, in Galway and other towns the mayors and public people of Nationalist sympathy offered their services to the authorities either to prevent the spread of the rebellion or, in some cases, to actually assist in quelling it. In the case of such isolated places as did rise no coherent plan seems to have been acted upon by the insurgent leaders. Possibly some such plan may have been elaborated beforehand, but if so it was not acted upon by such insurgents as actually took up arms. The cancellation of the "Easter manœuvres," whatever they were meant to be, by Professor MacNeill, the chief of the Irish Volunteers, may have altered the movements and set astray the plan of the insurgent leaders in the provinces, but

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with a revolt in full swing in the capital during a whole week there seems to have been no reason why the rural volunteers all over the country could not have done what those in county Meath, in county Wexford and in county Galway did. The fact is that the country as a whole, the farming community especially, did not want a rebellion, and it may be doubted if, under any circumstances short of its complete and absolute success in Dublin, Cork, and other large towns would they have been inclined to welcome it. Had it succeeded, the prospect of having their lands free might, had it been put before them cleverly by the leaders of the "Irish Republic," have tempted them to transfer their allegiance to the new constitution, but simple appeals to Irish patriotism would have left them cold. Unwilling to fight for England in the war, they were also unwilling to fight against her, and though they were vastly interested in the rebellion they refused in any way to touch it. The promptitude, too, with which the situation was handled



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by the military authorities had much to do with the suppression of the revolt in the country before it had time to assume serious proportions. In any event, even if the country had risen in large numbers the absence of one essential would have doomed the insurrection to failure, though it might, of course, have caused much more trouble. That essential was artillery. It was shell fire that prevented Galway from being taken, and that enabled the troops to recapture Enniscorthy.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DAMAGE TO DUBLIN

WHEN the revolt was quelled in Dublin, and the loyalists in the city went forth once more, the sight that met their eyes was one of ruin and devastation. Sackville Street, the principal thoroughfare of the Irish metropolis, and accounted one of the most beautiful in Europe, lay, for nearly half its length, an unshapely heap of smoking debris. The heart of the city was destroyed. On every side lay marks of the terrible struggle that had raged for nearly a week. In addition to shot and shell the rebellion had brought in its train the twin terrors of wholesale looting and of awful conflagrations. From the very first day of the revolt looting took place

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on a large and an audacious scale. In their Proclamation declaring an Irish Republic the leaders of the rebellion had issued a warning against rapine, and the evidence of more than one eye-witness was to the effect that they did their best to check looting. In conjunction with the troops they actually fired on those who, profiting by the turmoil, seized the opportunity to rob and plunder. With the police off the streets, however, with the ordinary law at a standstill, and with a population always ready to profit by disturbance, both insurgents as well as troops were powerless to prevent the barefaced robbery that continued throughout the week. It was of a nature to startle and amaze all onlookers. From the lanes and alleys of the city, from the purlieus where misery and want were always to be found, came a mob of men, women, and children to seize everything on which they could lay their hands. It was typical of the puerile character of the mob that the first places looted were sweet- and toy-shops. Urchins in bare feet and slat-

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ternly girls in shawls were to be seen smashing the windows of sweet shops and seizing boxes and bottles of chocolates, heavy bars of rock, sugar-sticks, and immense slabs of toffee. With childish glee they tore these dainties asunder and devoured the contents on the kerb-stones. Others raided toy emporiums, collected armfuls of dolls, games, and mechanical instruments of all descriptions. Not even in the days of the first French Revolution were more singular or more incongruous spectacles. A bootless and ragged boy was seen with a hockey stick striking golf-balls up and down the street, and when they disappeared he searched for them with a costly opera-glass, also looted. Pale and miserable little children were observed running home to their dirty hovels with loads of expensive toys and their mouths full of the daintiest confectionery. Finding themselves unchecked, the operations of the looters became more and more daring, until finally their audacity passed all bounds. Men and women entered wholesale into



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splendid shop-fronts and threw out the contents on the streets to be taken by any passers-by who chose. One man outside an outfitter's shop, after searching vainly in collar boxes for a particular size he needed, was heard asking the robber inside to fling out some number fourteens. Gold watches were openly sold at one shilling apiece. Men and women sat down in the gutters to fit on stolen boots, and flung them aside in disgust when they could not get them to suit. Both boots and shoes were sold at threepence a pair. Barefooted girls walked proudly with costly bangles on their ankles. In Henry Street, after broaching whiskey barrels and scooping up and drinking the raw liquor, the drunken looters allowed the contents to run to waste. One individual actually took off his clothes in the street and fitted on a new suit from the window of a fashionable tailor's shop. Dirty, unkempt women from the slums were seen wearing sealskin coats and costly jewellery which they had just stolen. Even well-dressed people did not disdain to loot

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or to purchase looted goods. Nor did the deadly fusillade of bullets stop the work of plunder. Women were seen busy at the work while a leaden hail whizzed by their ears, and several of them were shot dead. When the trouble spread to Rings-end, with its network of squalid streets and lanes, the looting of the shipping companies' stores provided scenes that might well astonish those who witnessed them. Asses and carts were used to take away the spoil. In some cases tons of bacon and other provisions were stolen. Women and girls were seen staggering along with sheet-loads of looted articles. Many were drunk on stolen whiskey, and in their delirium marched right into the firing line, utterly oblivious to their peril. The most remarkable hiding-places were selected for such articles as the looters could not conveniently carry home. In one church there were found toys, tennis and cricket bats, jewellery, clocks, watches, rings, and even stolen prayer-books. In another church was found a stolen perambulator. Hun-

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dreds of arrests were, of course, made after the revolt for looting alone, but a tithe of the goods stolen was never recovered. It is but fair to say that this open robbery was confined to a few places in the city. With law and order suspended for a week it might not unnaturally have occurred that looting might be even more extensive, but numbers of streets in which not a policeman was seen for seven or eight days escaped unscathed. The insurgents themselves paid for most of the articles they commandeered, and, according as the cordon of troops became tighter around the city, more check was placed on the operations of the looters. There was another reason why the taking of provisions, at any rate, could be condoned in the case of the populace. The stoppage of the food supplies occasioned acute distress both in the city and the suburbs. One big bakery was in the possession of the insurgents, and as constant firing went on from it, it was obviously impossible to supply the people with bread from it. Shopkeepers, too, being

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unable to renew their supplies of meat, vegetables, flour, milk, and other commodities, the stocks they had on hand soon gave way, and the subsequent shortage caused lamentable consequences. There was no milk in many localities, and children, especially infants, suffered severely. Such bakers as tried to supply bread to their customers had their carts raided by starving people, and prices reached famine level. Numbers of respectable families found their plight a shocking one. The banks were all shut. There were no wages and few means of obtaining money. Those with Post Office Savings Bank books could not obtain money because the General Post Office was in possession of the insurgents, and the sub-post offices were not open. In conjunction with the food supplies, coal and oil became scarce, as, for the protection of the city, the gas supply was cut off. The most extraordinary methods had to be adopted for cooking such food as was obtainable. In one quarter of the city a huge mound of turf, that had lain accumu-



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lating for years next a canal, was cleared in a single night. Woodwork of all kinds was used for cooking purposes. Fortunately the weather during this terrible week kept fine and dry, or the results might have been even worse. In the suburbs some extraordinary sights were witnessed, according as the food became shorter and shorter. Well-dressed men and women holding responsible and well-paid positions in the city, which they were, of course, unable to reach, could be seen journeying miles and returning, after long searches in provision shops, with loaves of bread, sides of bacon, heads of cabbages, and other eatables. A clergyman, in a suburb that ran completely out of bread and flour, succeeded, by a circuitous route and by means of motor-cars and trains, in obtaining a quantity from Belfast. Small provision shops with stocks of tinned meats that had lain for years on their shelves found them cleared out rapidly, until not an article remained behind and there was no immediate prospect before them of renewing their

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supplies. The people who suffered most were those in the vicinity of the fighting, who, unable to leave their houses for days, had to depend on the small stocks they had got in on the Easter Saturday for the bank holiday. Had the revolt lasted for a few days longer, a great part of the city would have been faced with actual starvation. As it was, so scarce had commodities become in some quarters that six shillings a pound was asked for butter, whilst fruit was so dear that sixpence each was demanded for oranges and one and threepence for six bananas. In some parts of the city and suburbs prompt and efficient steps were taken with the rapidly-increasing distress. There were no railway trains running either into or out of the city, but by means of motor transport food supplies were obtained and distributed in an organised and systematic manner. Relief tickets were distributed to long queues of people who were run out both of ready money and provisions, and in other ways efforts were made to cope with an unex-

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pected and a dangerous situation. The fact that no wages could be paid left numbers of people completely short of cash, and even people with banking accounts were unable to obtain money owing to all banks and commercial establishments being closed. Numbers of soldiers' wives were unable to draw their separation allowances. In four days it is calculated over 100,000 people had to receive relief in some form or another. The danger of starvation, however, was small compared to the perils of the streets. The total number of civilians having nothing whatever to do with the revolt who were killed or injured will probably never be known. Many were unidentified. Others were buried in gardens of deserted or vacant houses. In other cases, young men or women who were wounded, but who were not in the ranks of the insurgents, preferred afterwards to keep their injuries secret for fear of being compromised. Citizens, however, were shot under the most remarkable circumstances. Several people were shot as they were look-

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ing out of windows; curiosity to witness what was occurring being responsible for their deaths. One shopkeeper was shot as he was going upstairs. Several lost their lives in their gardens. A nun was killed as she was closing a window in a convent. Another woman died of fright, whilst a priest who was going to the aid of the wounded was fatally shot either by a sniper or as the result of a stray bullet. Many engaged in the perilous work of bringing in the wounded lost their lives. A woman, sitting by her fireside and thinking she was perfectly safe, was shot dead by a bullet that entered the window at an oblique angle. Some of the bullets fired from high buildings in the city penetrated to the suburbs and caused casualties in the streets. A man going for the doctor for his wife, who had become suddenly ill, was shot dead at his doorstep. Another man lost his life as he was escaping with his wife and children from a blazing building. In one Red Cross Hospital there were brought in, dead or wounded, 118 troops, 34 insurgents, and



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20 civilians. There were 36 deaths. Even the hospitals were not safe. Though both the soldiers and the insurgents scrupulously respected them, their wards were not free from the peril of stray bullets, whilst in a couple of cases the danger of fire from adjoining buildings in flames was most serious. Fortunately they all escaped. In no building, however, could people feel themselves perfectly safe. One woman, sitting in a room and away from the window, was struck by no fewer than three bullets and succumbed. A County Court crier, raising his hand in the street to salute a friend in a window, was shot by a sniper, who mistook his action. He died on the street. Another gentleman, knocking at his hall door, was shot dead. In this most amazing of all revolutions there were many other poignant scenes. A soldier rushed at a rebel to bayonet him, and found to his horror it was his own brother. There were several instances of insurgents having brothers in the Army, some of them even in Dublin, engaged in quelling the insur-

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rection. One young man in arms had a father, a colonel in a line regiment, at the Front. One of the leaders, a signatory to the Proclamation, and who was shot by order of a Court-martial, had an uncle an officer who was killed at the Dardanelles. Bullets penetrated the most extraordinary places. One struck the brass rod near the Lord Mayor's chair in the City Hall. Perhaps one of the saddest features of the revolt was the plight of a number of blind workers who found themselves in a building in one of the most dangerous portions of the city. Fortunately, they escaped uninjured. Several of the Corporation and Poor Law buildings suffered severely, and the inmates of one workhouse were in the terrible position of having to remain in the institution whilst its possession was being disputed for by insurgents and military armed with rifles and machine guns. A nerve-wracking experience, especially for the aged and infirm. It was in this institution that a nurse was shot dead, and there were many casualties both among

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the troops and insurgents as well as civilians at this place. Owing to the dangers of the streets the dead lay sometimes for three days where they fell. So fearful and continuous was the firing at some places that the inmates of buildings in the vicinity were unable to leave them. An Army Pay Department, where thirty-two clerks were employed, was under direct and constant fire for four days, and the men inside were unable to venture out because of the certainty of immediate death. To add to their suffering their premises caught fire, but they managed to extinguish the flames. Many thousands of people were in a somewhat similar plight, knowing not what best to do, whether to venture forth with the grave risk of being shot, or remain behind to be burned in their houses. In most cases people preferred to leave their residences for safer places in the suburbs, and during the week it was a common sight to see families on the move with their children, all the possessions taken by them being in a perambulator or go-cart. Perhaps the

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saddest scenes during that terrible week were the solitary hearses on their way to Glasnevin Cemetery. Owing to ammunition having been found in a coffin, the troops in many cases had the hearses stopped and the coffins opened for examination. No mourners were allowed through, and the interments took place with no friend or relative at the graveside. In many cases there were no coffins for the bodies, due, in the first place, to the abnormally large number of deaths, and, in the second, to the difficulty experienced by the undertakers in executing orders, especially in the areas where continuous street fighting was taking place. In Glasnevin alone there were 415 burials from April 27th to May 4th, of which 216 cases were due to fatal gun-shot wounds. Thirty of the bodies were unidentified. There were 46 burials in another cemetery during the same brief period, nor did these represent the total deaths, numbers of bodies being interred in gardens, as well as other burial grounds, both consecrated and uncon-



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separated. Many bodies were burned and buried in the great conflagrations that raged in Sackville Street, and, of course, their remains cannot be found for months until the work of removing the debris is completely carried out. It was, indeed, in this neighbourhood that Dublin suffered the most in life and property. The first fire started here on the evening of the first day of the revolt, and the burnings continued right until the following Sunday. The causes of some of the fires are obscure, but heavy shell fire undoubtedly started the serious conflagrations that spread during the week-end with such disastrous consequences. The Fire Brigade did their best to cope with the flames, but with firing going on all round, and with several people killed as the firemen were at work, it was obviously impossible to save numbers of the large blocks of buildings that were destroyed. The bullets even struck the ladders on which the firemen were using the hose. To add to the danger, ammunition and explosives stored by the insur-

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gents in many of the buildings burst as they were reached by the flames. One of the first fires of the week was at the Magazine Fort in the Phoenix Park. Popular imagination had credited this place with containing vast stores of high explosives, and it was one of the first places visited by the insurgents, who set it ablaze. Boxes of small-arms ammunition were destroyed by the fire, but before the flames could reach any of the other explosives the Fire Brigade, which came promptly on the scene, quelled the flames. Had they been afforded an equal opportunity in the case of the Sackville Street area, there can be no doubt they would have saved a great portion. When they did get the chance, they isolated the conflagrations, and thus saved adjoining blocks. It was, indeed, owing to their unceasing efforts in the face of enormous danger, as well as the fact that there was fortunately little wind on that awful week-end, that saved all central Dublin from complete ruin by fire. As it was, the damage was appalling. In all,

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over 200 large buildings were more or less destroyed. The following list will give some idea of the destruction, though as it only contains, in many cases, the name of the chief firm doing business on the premises destroyed, it does not completely show the damage done. In the Sackville Street area, hundreds of people had their offices in the upper portions of the destroyed buildings, and, of course, these offices, with all their effects, suffered the same fate as the main buildings:—

### LOWER SACKVILLE STREET.

1—Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins, one of the best-known firms of jewellers in Dublin.

2—Messrs. William Scott and Co., tailors.

3—Messrs. Hamilton, Long and Co., apothecaries.

4—Messrs. Francis Smyth and Son, umbrella manufacturers; the Waverley Hotel and Restaurant.

6 and 7—The Dublin Bread Company restaurant, large and imposing dining and tea rooms, generally known as the D.B.C.; Mr. Frank R. Gallagher, cigar merchant.

8—The Grand Hotel and Restaurant.

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9—E. R. Moore, jeweller.

10 and 11—Charles L. Reis and Co., fancy goods warehouse.

The Irish School of Wireless Telegraphy.

12 and 13—The Hibernian Bank.

14—Robert Buckham, gentlemen's outfitter.

15—City and County Permanent Building Society.

16—F. Sharpley, ladies' and children's outfitters.

17—Hoyte and Son, druggists.

G. P. Beater, architect and civil engineer.

18—The True-Form Boot Company.

19—J. P. Callaghan, tailor and hosier.

20—George Mitchell (Ltd.), cigar and wine merchants.

21 to 27—The Imperial Hotel.

Clery and Co. (Ltd.), drapers.

28—Richard Allen, tailor.

29—F. O'Farrell (Ltd.), tobacco importer.

30—The Munster and Leinster Bank (branch).

31—The Cable Boot Company (Ltd.).

32—Dunn and Co., hatters.

33—Lewers and Co., boys' clothiers and outfitters.

34—Noblett's Ltd.

35—Knapp and Peterson (Ltd.), tobacconists.

35 to 39—Hotel Metropole.

39—Henry Grandy, tailor.

40—Eason and Sons, general newspaper and advertising office and subscription library.



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41—David Drimmie and Sons, insurance agents.

42—The Misses Carolan, milliners.

43 and 44—Manfield and Sons, boot and shoe manufacturers.

46 and 47—John W. Elvery and Co., water-proof and gutta percha manufacturers.

### UPPER SACKVILLE STREET.

1—John Tyler and Sons, boot merchants.

2—Dublin Laundry Co. and Dartry Dye Works.

3—John McDowell, jeweller.

4—E. Nestor, milliner.

5, 6, and 7—William Lawrence, photographer, and stationer.

8.—Henry Taaffe, gentlemen's outfitter.

### SACKVILLE PLACE.

11—Vacant.

13—Corrigan and Wilson, printers.

14—John Davin.

16—Denis J. Egan, wine and spirit merchant.

### HENRY STREET.

16—James O'Dwyer and Co., tailors.

17—Harrison and Co., cooks and confectioners.

18, 19, and 20—Bewley, Sons, and Co. (Ltd.), provision and general merchants.

21—Irish Farm Produce Co.

22 and 23—E. Morris, merchant tailor.

24—The Coliseum Theatre.

## THE DAMAGE TO DUBLIN

25—H. E. Randall, boot and shoe manufacturers.

26 and 28—MacInerney and Co., drapers.

27—McDowell Brothers, jewellers.

29—Adelaide Repelto, fancy warehouse.

30—The World's Fair 6½d. Stores.

34—Dundon and Co., tailors and outfitters.

35—A. Clarke and Co., millinery and general fancy warehouse.

36—Madame Drago, hairdresser.

37—E. Marks and Co. (Ltd.), Penny Bazaar.

38—R. and J. Wilson and Co., confectioners and fancy bakers.

39—McCarthy and Co., costume and mantle warehouse.

40—Bailey Brothers, tailors.

40A—Mrs. Charlotte Gahagan, ladies' outfitter.

41A—Joseph Calvert, provision merchant.

41—Patrick M'Givney, cutler and optician.

42—John Murphy, spirit merchant.

43—R. and J. Dick, boot and shoe manufacturers.

44—Caroline E. Fegan and Co., underclothing factory.

49—Menzies and Co., milliners.

50—Hampton, Leedom and Co., hardware merchants.

51—Hayes, Conyngham, and Robinson, chemists.

52—Miss White, milliner.

53—Maples and Co., tailors.

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## LOWER ABBEY STREET.

1—Young and Co. (Ltd.), wine and spirit merchants.

2—J. J. Kelly and Co., cycle agents.

3—J. J. Keating, cycle and motor dealer.

4—*Irish Times* (Ltd.), reserve printing offices.

5—Ship Hotel and Tavern.

6—The Abbey Toilet Saloon (Ltd.).

7—John Hyland and Co., wholesale wine merchants.

8—C. G. Henry, wholesale tobacconist.

Presbyterian Church—Rev. John C. Johnston, M.A., minister.

28—Patrick Foley, wine and spirit merchant.

29—Denis Nolan, private hotel.

30—Francis Marnane, furrier.

31—William Collins, oil importer and hardware merchant.

32—Humber, Ltd., cycle and motor manufacturers, wholesale depot.

32—The *Leader* Newspaper.

32 and 33—Keating's Motor Works.

32 and 33—The Irish Commercial Travellers' Association.

33 and 34—Percy Macredy and Co., Ltd., publishers; Irish Homestead Publishing Co.; James McCullagh, Son, and Co., wholesale wine merchants; the Royal Hibernian Academy.

35, 36, and 37—Wynn's Hotel.

## THE DAMAGE TO DUBLIN

37—Smyth and Co., Ltd., hosiery manufacturers.

38—J. Ferguson and Co., hair dressers.

39—Peter Callaghan, gentlemen's outfitter.

### MIDDLE ABBEY STREET.

62—Patrick Gordon, wine agent.

66—W. J. Haddock, ladies' and gentlemen's tailor.

67—Collins and Co., tailors.

68—George Young, builder and general ironmonger.

69 and 70—Sharman Crawford, wine merchant.

71—Dermot Dignam, advertising agent.

73—James Allen and Son, auctioneers and valuers.

74 and 75—Gaynor and Son, cork merchants.

76—Y.M.C.A. Supper Room for Soldiers and Sailors.

78—John J. Egan, wine and spirit merchant, The Oval.

79 and 80—Eason and Son, Ltd., wholesale newsagents.

81 and 82—Do.

83—*Evening Telegraph* Office.

84—*Weekly Freeman* and *Sport* Office.

85—Sullivan Brothers, educational publishers.

86—Sealy, Bryers, and Walker, printers and publishers.

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87 to 90—Alexander Thom and Co., Ltd., Government printers and publishers.

91, 92 and 93—Fitzgerald and Co., wholesale tea, wine, and spirit merchants.

94—The Wall Paper Manufacturing Co.

96—Maunsel and Co., publishers.

96—Francis Tucker and Co., Ltd., church candle and altar requisites manufacturers.

97—W. Dawson and Sons, Ltd., wholesale agents.

98 and 99—W. Curtis and Sons, brass and bell founders, plumbers, electrical and sanitary engineers.

100—J. Whitby and Co., cork merchants.

101—John Kane, art metal worker.

102 to 104—National Reserve Headquarters.

105—Perfect Dairy Machine Co.

### EARL STREET.

1A—James Tallon, newsagent.

1—T. Carson, tobacconist.

2—A. Sullivan, confectioner.

3—J. J. Lalor, Catholic art repository.

4—Philip Meagher, vintner.

5—James Winstanley, boot warehouse.

6—Noveau et Cie, costumiers.

7—Sir Joseph Downes, confectioner.

25—J. Nagle and Co., wine and spirit merchants.

26—Mrs. E. Sheridan, wine and spirit merchant.



## THE DAMAGE TO DUBLIN

27—Delany and Co., tobacco and cigar merchants.

27A—J. Alexander, merchant tailor.

28—M. Rowe and Co., general drapers.

29, 30, and 31—John Tyler and Sons (Ltd.), boot manufacturers.

### EDEN QUAY.

1 and 2—Barry, O'Moore, and Co., accountants and auditors.

3—Gerald Mooney, wine and spirit merchant.

4—The London and North-Western Railway Co., General Inquiry Office.

5—G. R. Mesias, military and merchant tailor.

6—The Midland Railway of England, receiving, booking, and inquiry office.

6—Wells and Holohan, railway and shipping agents.

7—J. Hubbert Clark, painter and decorator.

8—The Globe Parcel Express.

9—Henry Smith, Ltd., ironmongers.

10—Joseph M'Greevy, wine and spirit merchant.

11—The Douglas Hotel and Restaurant.

12—Mr. John Dalby.

13—The Mission to Seamen Institute.

14—E. Moore, publican.

### PRINCE'S STREET.

3—Princes Stores.

4 to 8—*Freeman's Journal* (Ltd.).

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13—Stores.

14—Vacant.

15—Pirie and Sons, stores.

## MOORE STREET.

1 and 2—J. Humphrys, wine and spirit merchant.

3—O. Savino, fried fish shop.

4—Miss B. Morris, dairy.

5—M. J. Dunne, pork butcher.

6—R. Dillon, fruiterer.

59—Francis Fee, wine and spirit merchant.

60—Miss M'Nally, greengrocer.

61—C. O'Donnell, victualler.

62—Miss Ward, victualler.

## LOWER BRIDGE STREET.

18—Tenements.

19 and 21—Doherty's Hotel.

20—Brazen Head Hotel.

## USHER'S QUAY.

1—H. Kavanagh, wine and spirit merchant.

2 and 3—Dublin Clothing Co.

4—Tenements.

## BOLTON STREET.

57—George Freyne, hardware merchant.

58—D. Dolan, chemist.

59—W. Leckie and Co., printers and bookbinders.

60—Tenements.

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### MARLBOROUGH STREET.

112—J. Farrell, wine and spirit merchant.

113—Marlborough Hotel.

### GLANWILLIAM PLACE.

1 and 2—Private houses.

### YARNHALL STREET.

1—Hugh, Moore and Alexanders, Ltd.,  
wholesale druggists.

Linenhall Barracks.

4, 5, 6, and 7—W. Leckie and Co.'s work-  
shops.

### BERESFORD PLACE.

16 and 17—Offices.

Liberty Hall, headquarters of Irish Transport  
and General Workers' Union.

### HARCOURT STREET.

96—Norman Reeves, tailor.

97A—Mrs. Elizabeth Bryan, fruiterer.

It has been calculated that the value of the various properties in this list, according to the new valuation for 1916, and exclusive of any estimate for goods and also excluding any sum for the General Post Office, the Royal Hibernian Academy, the Presbyterian Union Chapel or the Metho-

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dist Church in Abbey Street, amounted to £241,870. The total damage caused to property was estimated at £2,500,000. Many of the buildings in the above list were beautiful and imposing structures. The General Post Office, of which the outer walls and pillars were alone left standing, was a large and powerfully built work of stone, which, if it could not be called exactly artistic, was, nevertheless, a landmark in the centre of the splendid street in which it stood. Near it was the Hotel Metropole, an extensive and prettily constructed building, with many balconies overlooking Sackville Street. Opposite stood the great drapery emporium of Messrs. Clery and Co., with the Imperial Hotel, a large structure in white, overhead. At the back of the Post Office was the Coliseum Theatre, only completed about a year before the revolt, and capable of seating about 3,000 people. Adjoining, too, were the offices of the *Freeman's Journal* and kindred publications, the official organs of the Irish Nationalist Party. These

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were laid in ruins, the plant and machinery being mere twisted wreckage. Newspapers, indeed, suffered severely in Dublin during the revolt. The reserve office of a Dublin Unionist daily was burned to the ground, and the offices of two weekly newspapers, as well as a large Government printing office, were also destroyed. No evening paper was published in Dublin from Easter Saturday, April 23rd, until Tuesday, May 2nd, an interval of eight days. No morning paper was printed and circulated in Dublin from Thursday, April 27th, to Monday, May 1st. Several buildings of historic interest met destruction. Of the number may be mentioned the Linen Hall Barracks, the relic of a great national industry and the site, a year or two before the rebellion, of a civic exhibition, in which their Excellencies Lord and Lady Aberdeen took a great interest. The Royal Hibernian Academy was another building destroyed whose loss could not be estimated in mere figures. Some 500 pictures,



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many of them of considerable value, were lost in the flames. In Middle Abbey Street the old *Nation* office met the same fate, as well as the house associated with the meetings of Michael Davitt, the Irish patriot. Fortunately the statues in Sackville Street escaped. The giant figure of Daniel O'Connell, who won Catholic Emancipation for Ireland, was uninjured save for the marks of some bullets, which chipped the stone work. Nelson's Pillar, also escaped destruction. This tall monument, a replica to some extent of the Nelson Pillar in London, was hateful to the insurgents, who made an attempt to blow it up, but they did not succeed. A sniper, from the roof of the General Post Office, however, spent some time firing at the figure of Nelson. The nose was shot off, and one of the arms was also damaged. In addition to the material damage caused by the destruction of buildings and offices much inconvenience is likely to result for many years by reason of the loss of valuable records and agreements in solicitors' and

## THE DAMAGE TO DUBLIN

business offices. The same remark applies to the loss of letters posted in the General Post Office, the wholesale destruction of all the money and postal orders in that building, as well as savings bank books, receipts, and other postal and telegraphic records. Fortunately the fire-proof safes in all the large buildings withstood the effects of even such a huge conflagration as ate up large buildings in whole blocks, and were dug out of the ruins afterwards with comparatively little damage. The scene of desolation that met the eye, however, as the workmen probed in the smoking ruins for such things as were recoverable was indeed a melancholy one. Shapeless heaps of dust and broken brickwork, tangled bits of iron and brass work, broken and disjointed, and scarred masses of stone work, and odds and ends of all descriptions in inextricable confusion marked all that stood of imposing hotels, of pretty restaurants, of busy banks, of large printing works, of beautiful shops, and of hundreds of well-fitted business offices. Some outer

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walls still stood, but as they were manifestly dangerous the work of pulling them down was started as early as possible. Even in the midst of so much devastation that passion that leads people to collect souvenirs was not forgotten, and broken barrels of rifles, volunteer buttons, burnt scraps of paper, broken screws, and other relics of the rebellion were carried away to be treasured in remembrance of the most terrible time Dublin has ever known in all its chequered and eventful history. Outside of the Sackville Street district the damage to Dublin was not extensive. Some hundreds, possibly thousands, of houses bore marks of bullets. Windows were smashed in immense numbers. There was also considerable destruction in the Ringsend district as well as looting, both here and at some other isolated quarters. On the whole, however, the city escaped remarkably well save in the Sackville Street area. Boland's bakery, though damaged, was not destroyed. The same remark applies to Jacob's factory, where

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work was resumed about a week after the revolt ended. The plight, however, of the hundreds of unfortunate property owners and occupiers of business premises in the Sackville Street district was pitiful. Some of them were rich men, of course, and would not be ruined, but the majority could not afford to see swept out of existence their means of livelihood. For some days they literally did not know what to do. Their premises had, of course, been insured, but their policies expressly included clauses that the insurance companies would not be liable in the event of riot, rebellion, earthquake or invasion. It was due to the initiative of Mr. Wm. M. Murphy, who had himself lost enormously by the revolt, that definite steps were taken by the sufferers to have their position plainly stated. In addition to being the chairman and the leading shareholder in the Dublin tramways, Mr. Murphy was the practical proprietor of the Imperial Hotel and Clery's, where the damage was estimated at £200,000. It was due to Mr. Murphy's



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efforts that Larkin's Syndicalist strikes in 1911 and 1913 were defeated in Dublin, and it was due to his endeavours also that the first organised efforts were made after the revolt to get the property owners and occupiers who had suffered in the fires to meet and state their case. At a meeting held in the Mansion House, Dublin, Mr. Murphy, who presided, said :—

“We have been paying taxes to the Government to protect us. We have been paying our annual sum in premiums, in insurance policies, and if we cannot get somebody to help us now it will be a very extraordinary affair indeed.”

The prevailing view at the meeting was that the Government should help. It was also pointed out that after the San Francisco earthquake the British insurance companies paid, though by the terms of their policy they were not compelled to do so. It was decided that the Prime Minister be requested to receive a deputation on the subject. A most serious aspect, indeed, of the wholesale destruction of property was



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the number of people it threw out of employment at a time when money was so scarce and provisions so dear. Steps were, of course, taken for dealing temporarily at least with the most acute cases of distress, but it was clearly apparent, as one watched the smoking ruins of hundreds of prosperous business premises, that Dublin, for many a year, would feel acutely the damage caused as a result of the revolt.

## CHAPTER VI

### EXECUTIONS AND DEPORTATIONS

AFTER the surrender of the leaders of the rebellion much speculation existed as to their fate. It was known that seven of them who had signed the Proclamation of an Irish Republic were in custody, and also that the commandants of such places as Boland's bakery, the College of Surgeons, Jacob's factory, the South Dublin Union, and the Four Courts were in the power of the authorities. With martial law in force the matter was not long in doubt. On Wednesday morning at daybreak, P. H. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, and T. J. Clarke, three signatories of the notice proclaiming the Republic, were shot, following sentence of death by a Field General

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Court-martial. The news created a great sensation in the country. Up to the time of the revolt the three men were, generally speaking, unknown in Ireland. Pearse was thirty-six years of age, a barrister and headmaster of St. Enda's Boys' School, Rathfarnham, outside Dublin. Deeply versed in a knowledge of the tragic history of Ireland, a fluent speaker of the Irish language, he was the visionary leader of the movement that culminated in the rebellion. Gifted with eloquence of a kind that powerfully appealed to the Celtic temperament, his influence over the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers in Dublin was immense. When the remains of O'Donovan Rossa, the Fenian leader, were removed from the United States and laid to rest in Glasnevin in 1915, it was Pearse who delivered the funeral oration in a manner that electrified his hearers. Robert Emmet, the young Irish insurgent leader who essayed a rebellion in Dublin in 1803, was Pearse's hero, and all his speeches and writings were modelled on the type of the oration de-

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livered by Emmet before his execution. It was this lofty tone, this idealistic portrayal of extreme Nationalism, this exaltation of Ireland among the nations of the earth, that marked the words and thoughts of Pearse. His name was third on the list of signatories to the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, but the whole document bears marks of the influence of his mind. Dreamer though he was in many respects, it may be doubted if he believed the insurrection, which he did so much to bring about, would succeed. On the contrary, it is reported that on Easter Sunday, the day before the rebellion started, he expressed the opinion that it would fail in its direct object, but that its moral effect before the whole world would be immense, and that it would form "a glorious chapter in Irish history." Although named as Commander-General of the Irish Republican Forces, the military skill of Pearse may be doubted. His appearance, in the dark green uniform of the Irish Volunteers, at the head of his troop, was a familiar one in Dublin amongst

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those who took any interest in the movements of these Volunteers. In the vicinity of his school and around the hills in county Dublin he frequently was seen at the head of his Volunteers whilst they engaged in mimic field operations. His deep-set eyes, his far-away looks, his complete absorption in the Volunteer movement marked him out as a man who would play a leading and a dangerous part in any revolutionary attempt in Ireland. Indeed, he made no secret of his intentions, and from a hillside near his school it was openly stated, in his presence, some weeks before the revolt, that a rising would take place. Secrecy played little part in the preparations so far as Pearse, at any rate, was concerned, though, of course, he was not the practical organiser of the insurrection. That was in more effective hands. Pearse was the orator, the dreamer, the inspiring force to a large extent of the movement. He was content to leave to others a large share in the actual details. Like Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh was a teacher. An M.A. of



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the National University, he held a position as tutor in English literature at University College, Dublin. A man in the thirties, he had established some reputation as a minor poet of a melancholy type. Excitable and impulsive, his appearance, manner, and gestures approximated him more closely to the Parisian type of student than that of Dublin. As a teacher of English and of mathematics he was clever and influenced his classes, but it is very doubtful if his influence was similarly strong in the revolutionary movement. It has been stated that his expressed belief was that to attempt a rebellion without German aid would have been madness. Once started, however, he threw himself into the work, and he was one of the signatories of the Republican Proclamation. There is evidence that at Jacob's factory he told some police prisoners that the insurrection would be a success, that aid was forthcoming, and that the country was up in arms. His imagination was probably excited at the time to an acute degree, and with a man of

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his temperament exultation one minute would very likely be succeeded by profound gloom the next. His poems, published many years before there was any prospect of trouble in Ireland, reveal a deep vein of sadness. Under the title of "The Suicide," he wrote :—

Here, when I have died,  
And when my body is found,  
They will bury it by the roadside  
And in no blessed ground.  
And no one my story will tell,  
And no one will honour my name ;  
They will think that they bury well  
The damned in their grave of shame.

The fact is, MacDonagh was an exotic, and he died the violent death he had so often pictured in his poems and mirrored in his mind. He was true to what he wrote about himself. Thomas J. Clarke, the third of the executed men, belonged to an altogether different category. He was purely and simply the unrepentant old Fenian, the old Irish Republican of the 'seventies and the 'eighties of the last cen-

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tury. He was seventy-four years of age. Convicted in the 'eighties of dynamite outrages in England, he served fifteen years' penal servitude. Returning to Dublin he opened a news agency and tobacco shop, and passed many quiet years until the revolutionary movement brought him back once more to the practices of his boyhood days. He provided a link between the revolutionary days of the later part of the nineteenth century and those of the first quarter of the twentieth century, and it was probably as a tribute to his age and his associations of the past that he was allowed to sign first the Republican Proclamation in place of those who were playing a more active part in organising the new rebellion. On Thursday morning, May 4th, four more insurgents were shot, namely, Joseph Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan, and William Pearse. None of these were well-known men. The only one amongst them who was a signatory to the Republican Proclamation was Joseph Plunkett, a son of Count Plunkett. This

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young man was a poet and a writer of some note. At one time he was editor of a monthly publication called the *Irish Review*. Early in the war, his uncle, a brother of Count Plunkett, joined the British Army, and was killed in the Gallipoli Peninsula. Edward Daly, who commanded at the Four Courts, was a nephew of Mr. John Daly, who was at one time Mayor of Limerick. He was twenty-four years of age, and an officer of the First Battalion of the Irish Volunteers. Michael O'Hanrahan was a writer of short articles and stories of Irish interest, but he never attained any distinction at this class of work, and at the time of the revolt he was engaged as a clerk in connection with the Irish Volunteers. William Pearse was a brother of P. H. Pearse, and was a sculptor in Great Brunswick Street. He did not possess the dominating personality of his brother, and, indeed, was little known save to his immediate friends. On Friday morning, May 5th, John MacBride was shot. A native of the West of Ireland, he was

## THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1916

fifty years of age. In 1897 he went to South Africa and worked in the Robinson Mines. When the Boer War broke out he organised an Irish Brigade to fight against the British and took part in the Battle of Colenso. He was made a Major by the Boers, and was known by that title in Ireland. Returning to Ireland he married Miss Maud Gonne, well known in Ireland, in Parnellite days, from whom he was subsequently divorced in Paris. For some years before the revolt he occupied a position under the Dublin Corporation, and, during the outbreak, he commanded at Jacob's factory. On Monday morning, May 8th, the executions of the following took place: Cornelius Colbert, Edmund Kent, Michael Mallin, and J. J. Heuston. The only one amongst them who had signed the Republican Proclamation was Edmund Kent. Better known in Ireland by his Irish name of Edmoun Ceannt, he was an accountant with a salary of £300 a year in the City Treasurer's Office, Dublin Corporation. About two months before the



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rebellion he was prosecuted, under the Defence of the Realm Act, for certain remarks made by him in the county Cork, but the charge was dismissed. A man of notable intellectual entertainments, he was undoubtedly an influence in the counsels of the insurgents, though that influence would be more moral and persuasive than dominating. Nationalism in his case was carried to extreme lengths, and he was probably one of the ablest and most convinced Sinn Feiners in Ireland. His speeches were direct utterances—he hated eloquence or “green flaggery,” as he called it, and his own speeches were delivered more to influence the understandings of his hearers than to delight them with a flood of oratory. The other three men executed, though they were stated to have taken a very prominent part in the rebellion, were not by any means well known. Colbert was a native of Clare, and aged about twenty-three. He was only a junior clerk in a city bakery. The other two men held equally obscure positions. On Friday

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morning, May 12th, sentences of death were carried out in the cases of James Connolly and John MacDermott, both of whom signed the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. Viewed from the standpoint of practical knowledge and of organising ability, James Connolly was incomparably the ablest man amongst the insurgent leaders. Hailing from the North of Ireland his career was a stormy and a chequered one. Early in life he became associated with the labour movement in Belfast, in Edinburgh, and in Dublin. He was a Socialist of a convinced, determined, and aggressive type. The author of a volume entitled "Labour in Irish History," he was a self-educated man, and a speaker and writer of much power. During the Syndicalist strikes in Dublin he was generally credited with being the strong, silent man behind Larkin, who was put forward as a picturesque figurehead. Certainly Connolly's influence over the working classes in Dublin was powerful. He continued to inspire confidence even when

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Larkin was to a large extent discredited. Rugged in speech, he resembled Kent in just one particular only, and that was a profound dislike for mere oratory. His own remarks to his followers were curt and direct. He retained the rugged bluntness and keen common sense generally associated with the North of Ireland character, even after years spent in Dublin, and in the counsels of the Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers his personality was a dominating one. He kept, nevertheless, the Citizen Army composed of workers as a separate organisation, and in the war sheet issued by the insurgents on the second day of the revolt he was named as being in command of the Dublin troops of the Irish Republic. He was in command in the General Post Office area, and his orders, type-written and businesslike, have been preserved. One of them reads as follows:—

# THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1916

*Army of the Irish Republic*

*(Dublin Command).*

Headquarters.      Date, April 25th, 1916.

To Officer in Charge.    Reis and D.B.C.

The main purpose of your post is to protect our wireless station. Its secondary purpose is to observe Lower Abbey Street and Lower O'Connell Street. Commandeer in the D.B.C. (restaurant) whatever food and utensils you require. Make sure of a plentiful supply of water wherever your men are. Break all glass in the windows of the rooms occupied by you for fighting purposes. Establish a connection between your forces in the D.B.C. and in Reis's building. Be sure that the stairways leading immediately to your rooms are well barricaded. We have a post in the house at the corner of Bachelor's Walk, in the Hotel Metropole, in the Imperial Hotel, and in the Post Office. The directions from which you are likely to be attacked are from the Custom House and from the

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far side of the river, D'Olier Street, or Westmoreland Street. We believe there is a sniper in McBirney's on the far side of the river.

JAMES CONNOLLY,  
*Commander General.*

These orders, clear, incisive and direct, were typical of the man, the hard-headed, cool, practical Northerner, so different from the poets and dreamers with whom he was associated in his last great enterprise. So great is this contrast that one is tempted to speculate whether it was for the sake of a national idea or to create anarchy in Dublin that Connolly became mixed up in the insurrection. He hated the capitalists with a fierce and a burning hatred. This loathing was apparent in every harsh sentence that came from his mouth in addressing his followers. To die after causing them millions of loss in property would be to such a man a worthy end to meet. Probably, as he lay wounded with a shattered leg in the General Post Office, and saw around him giant buildings in flames and



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central Dublin almost in ruins, his turbulent spirit, nurtured on hatred of the capitalistic system, may well have been content. John MacDermott, or Sean MacDiarmada as he called himself, was quite a different man from Connolly. Whilst the latter lived on hatred of the capitalists, MacDermott grew upon hatred of England. Aged about 30, he was a native of the county Leitrim. Before the war he was editor of a paper called *Irish Freedom*, which, at a time even when Sinn Feiners were discussing the Home Rule Bill as a possible form of settlement, advocated the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain. After the war he became connected with several papers that were suppressed. He served four months in prison under the Defence of the Realm Act for an anti-recruiting speech delivered at Athenry. By nature delicate, with a defect in one of his legs that prevented him walking without the aid of a stick, MacDermott had a mind which, though it was warped by his one great passion of hatred

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of England, was in other respects practical and pleasing enough. The obstinacy, however, with which he devoted his whole life to the task of trying to undermine British power in Ireland, led him inevitably into the forefront of any revolutionary movement. Whilst some of his companions would have been content to stop short at the work of hindering recruiting, MacDermott's imagination was fired by the men of action in Ireland and by the men who had died for Ireland. Probably he would not have asked a better fate than the one he met. In the country Thomas Kent, of Coale, Fermoy, was executed at Queens-town by order of a Field General Court-martial, in connection with the shooting of a head constable. This brought the total number shot by order of Field General Courts-martial in the country to fifteen. In addition there were the cases of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington and two other men stated to have been shot by the military early during the revolt in Dublin. The almost daily series of executions that followed the

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crushing of the rebellion created immense feeling in Ireland, and, according to the Washington correspondents of the London Press, also in the United States of America amongst the Irish-Americans. In Ireland, and in Dublin especially, the Unionists greeted with a fierce joy the summary sentences inflicted on the rebels. The satisfaction of the Northern Unionists over the crushing of the revolt was also intense. In Dublin the feelings of the Unionists and loyalists were voiced by the Most Rev. Dr. Bernard, the Protestant Archbishop, who spoke of the necessity of "swift and stern" action to punish those connected with the insurrection. The organ of the Unionists in Dublin went even further. It wrote :

"Only by a stern policy of suppression and punishment can the Government protect the highest interests of the Irish capital and of Ireland as a whole. The State has struck, but its work is not yet finished. The surgeon's knife has been put to the corruption in the body of Ireland and its

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course must not be stayed until the whole malignant growth has been removed."

One of the first acts of the official organ of the Nationalist Party (its works were completely destroyed in the rebellion), when it reappeared on May 5th, was to "denounce as utterly destructive of all hopes of settled peace and order in Ireland such bloodthirsty incitements to the Government. If such recommendations were accepted and followed, the sole effect would be to set flowing new rivers of hate and bloodshed between England and Ireland." In the House of Commons on May 9th, when twelve executions (apart from the Sheehy Skeffington and kindred affairs) had taken place, Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Nationalist Party, said that the continuance of these death sentences was causing "rapidly increasing and bitter exasperation amongst sections of the Irish Republic who had no sympathy with the rebellion." Mr. Asquith replied that the

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Government had the greatest confidence in the discretion of General Sir John Maxwell. His general instructions were to sanction the infliction of the extreme penalty as sparingly as possible, and only on responsible persons guilty in the first degree. At a meeting of the Irish Nationalist Party on May 10th a resolution was passed on the same lines as Mr. Redmond's plea in the House of Commons. The resolution also asked that no further executions should take place, and that martial law should be immediately withdrawn in Ireland. This was followed on May 11th by a vehement and impassioned speech by Mr. John Dillon, a prominent member of the Irish Nationalist Party, in the House of Commons. He spoke of "the maddening effect on Ireland of General Sir John Maxwell's secret trials and executions, and the rivers of blood set flowing between the Irish and English races by the champions of small nationalities." He would prove, he said, that two persons had been shot in Portobello



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Barracks, Dublin, without a trial. If a military government was to be substituted in Ireland in place of civil law, the Government had better get 100,000 men to garrison the country. What kind of appearance, he asked, would Great Britain make at the Peace Conference as the champion of small nations with Ireland under a military despotism? He was informed that hundreds of people who were arrested were given half an hour in which to decide whether they would give information against their leaders. If they refused they were put up against a wall and shot without any form of trial. One man said to the British officer, "Shoot me, for I have killed three of your soldiers." There were Nationalist cheers as Mr. Dillon spoke. "That," exclaimed Mr. Dillon, "may horrify you, but I am not ashamed to say I am proud of these men." Here there were some cheers and loud cries of "Shame!" as well as other remarks of anger. "I am proud of their courage," Mr. Dillon continued, "and if you were not

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so dense you could have had them fighting for you. It is not a Military Service Bill you want in Ireland, but it is to find a way to the hearts of the Irish people." No rebellion, he added, in modern history had been put down with so much bloodshed and savagery. Why, he asked, could the Government not have treated Ireland as General Botha treated South Africa? In regard to the main body of the insurgents in Ireland he admitted they were wrong in rebelling, but their conduct as fighting men was beyond reproach. "They fought a good clean fight," he asserted, and because of the manner in which they had been crushed, thousands of people in Ireland who were bitterly opposed to the Sinn Fein movement were now becoming infuriated against the Government. Mr. Asquith, in reply, regretted the tone of parts of Mr. Dillon's speech. It would have to be remembered that the casualties suffered by the military and police numbered 521, of whom 124 were killed. The casualties of the civilian population of

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Dublin were not complete at the time he spoke, but amounted to 694, so that the total to that date came to 1,215. That was very serious. He promised an inquiry into the Skeffington case, but the Government could not see their way to interfere with the executions of Connolly and MacDermott, who had signed the Republican Proclamation. Clemency would, however, be extended to the rank and file. "So far as the great body of the insurgents are concerned," he said amidst cheers, "I have no hesitation in saying they conducted themselves with a humanity which contrasted very much to their advantage with some of the so-called civilised enemies whom we are fighting in Europe." In conclusion, he created a sensation by stating that the Government regarded the Irish situation as unsatisfactory, and he was leaving for Ireland at once to consult the military and civil authorities for the purpose of arriving at some arrangement suitable to all parties. The feeling in Ireland was, indeed, difficult to diagnose and

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classify. On the one hand were the Unionist and loyalist classes crying for blood, many property owners whose premises were destroyed being infuriated and eager to have wholesale shootings of insurgents. On the other hand were the Nationalists, and numbers of people who were neither Unionists nor Nationalists, whose sympathies were being instinctively aroused by the terrible fate of the insurgent leaders. Nor were there wanting circumstances to render that fate sadder and more pathetic in some cases. It was known that one of the leaders, Joseph Plunkett, had been married at midnight, a few hours before his execution, to Miss Grace Gifford, the daughter of a Dublin solicitor. A sister of the ill-fated bride named Muriel was the wife of Thomas MacDonagh, another of the executed leaders. These dramatic circumstances appealed to the Celtic imagination. It was inevitable that contrasts should be made with the pathos and romance that surrounded the ill-fated insurrection of Robert Emmet at the

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beginning of the nineteenth century. "Nothing in heaven or earth," wrote George Bernard Shaw in a London Liberal daily, "can prevent the men shot taking their places beside Emmet and the Manchester Martyrs in Ireland, and beside the heroes of Poland and Serbia and Belgium in Europe." The publication in a Dublin Unionist evening paper of a poem written by P. H. Pearse whilst awaiting the carrying out of the sentence of death also excited commiseration. It was entitled:—

### THE WAYFARER.

The beauty of this world has made me sad :  
This beauty that will pass ;  
Sometimes my heart had shaken with great joy,  
To see a leaping squirrel in a tree,  
Or little rabbits in a field at evening,  
Lit by a staring sun ;  
On some green hill, where shadows drifting by ;  
Some quietude where mountainy men had sown  
And some would reap, near to the gate of heaven,  
Or children with bare feet upon the sands of some  
    ebbed sea,  
Or playing in the streets of little towns in  
    Connacht,  
Things young and happy,—



## THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1916

And then my heart had told me,  
These will pass !  
Will pass and change, will die, and be no more,  
Things bright and green, things young and happy,  
And I have gone upon my way—sorrowful.

The mixture of romance and poetry that thus surrounded the executions had its inevitable effect in Ireland. The long lists of sentences to penal servitude, the arrests throughout the country, and the deportations completed the work of influencing the views of Nationalist Ireland towards the rebellion. The following sentences by Field General Court-martial were promulgated from May 4th to May 31st:—

Penal servitude for life : Thomas Ashe, Wm. Cosgrove, Edward De Valera, Thomas Hunter, Constance Georgina Markievicz, Henry O'Hanrahan, John MacNeill.

Twenty years : Richard Hayes.

Ten years : Thomas Bevan, Peter Clancy, Richard Davys, John Doherty, Peter Doyle, Frank Drennan, Francis Fahy, Patrick Fahy, Thomas Desmond

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Fitzgerald, James J. Hughes, George Irvine, James Lawless, Frank Lawless, Finian Lynch, Jeremiah Lynch, Patrick McNestry, James Melinn, Michael Mervyn, Denis O'Callaghan, Colgan O'Leary, Councillor William Partridge (Dublin), P. E. Sweeny, William Tobin, John Tomkins, J. J. Walsh, Thomas Walsh, John Williams.

Eight years: John M'Garry, James O'Sullivan.

Five years: Henry James Boland, Robert Brennan, Timothy Brosnan, Wm. P. Corrigan, Philip B. Cosgrave, Gerald Crofts, James Doyle, John R. Etchingham, Peter Gallighan, Michael de Lacey, J. J. Joyce, Richard F. King, Bryan Molloy, C. O'Donovan, V. Poole, James Rafter, John Shouldice.

Three years: Pierce Beasley, Charles Bevan, Michael Brady, J. Brennan, Maurice Brennan, F. Brooks, James Burke, J. Byrne, C. Carrick, John Carrick, J. Clarke, R. Coleman, John Corcoran, L. Corcoran, W. Corcoran, John F. Cullen,

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James Dempsey, J. Dorrington, John Dourney, Gerald Doyle, Edward Duggan, John Faulkner, Michael Fleming, senior, P. Flanagan, P. Fury, T. Fury, Thomas (Fred) Fury, Patrick Fogarty, M. Helna, M. Higgins, J. Howley, William Hussey, P. Kelly, R. Kelly, George Levins, J. Loughlin, Conor McGinley, Philip J. McMahan, John McArdle, J. Macguinness, J. Marks, W. Meehan, James Morrissey, J. Norton, John O'Brien, W. O'Dea, T. O'Kelly, T. Peppard, John Quinn, Michael Reynolds, M. Scully, M. Toole, P. Wilson, Wm. Wilson.

Two years : J. Wilson.

One year : Thomas Barrett, J. Grenigan, Wm. Derrington, Michael Donoghue, Murtagh Fahy, Michael Grady, John Grady, John Hanify, Martin Hanshery, Michael Higgins, P. Kennedy, Thomas Kennedy, James Murray, Charles O'Neill, E. Roach, Charles Whyte.

John McNeill, the leader of the Irish Volunteers, but who took no part in the

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rebellion, was a Professor in the National University.

The strange and troubled career of the Countess Markievicz, who also received a life sentence, has already been briefly described. A short indication of the positions of a few of the others will be typical of the status of the lot. Thomas Hunter (life sentence) was a draper's assistant in Dublin. Wm. T. Cosgrave (also a life sentence) was a member of the Dublin Corporation, being chairman of the Estates and Finance Committee. He belonged to the Labour Party in the Council. Edward De Valera (life) was a professor. J. J. Walsh (10 years) was a member of the Cork Corporation. Originally in the postal service in that city, he was transferred to Bradford after the outbreak of the war, and was eventually dismissed the service. He then opened a news-agent's shop in Dublin, where seditious publications were sold. George Irvine (10 years) was a Protestant and a teacher in a Diocesan School in Dublin. Patrick McNestry (10 years) was in the silversmith

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business, and was a well-known Association footballer player. Finian Lynch (10 years) was a school teacher. Denis O'Callaghan (10 years) was employed in the General Post Office. James Melinn (10 years) was a provision dealer. Francis Fahy (10 years) was a teacher in a Dublin College. Richard Davys (10 years) was employed in a Dublin brewery. Thomas Bevan (10 years) was in the printing trade. James J. Hughes (10 years) was a Dublin commercial clerk in a responsible position. William Tobin (10 years) was a Dublin artisan. Peter Doyle (10 years) was also an artisan. John M'Garry (8 years) was engaged in commercial work in Dublin. Pierce Beasley (3 years) was a journalist, and the nephew of an Irish Nationalist M.P. John R. Etchingham and Robert Brennan (5 years each) were reporters in county Wexford. After the surrender of the insurgents in Dublin, in Meath, in Louth, in Wexford, and in Galway came the arrests of hundreds in these and other counties, who, whilst having taken no active part in the rising, were suspected of



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sympathy or of indirect assistance given to it. It was these arrests, followed by deportations to England of the great majority of those taken in custody, that aroused such intense feeling in the country. In Dublin several aldermen and members of the Corporation were arrested. Other prominent people were the Count and Countess Plunkett, the parents of the young man Joseph Plunkett, who was married a few hours prior to his execution. Count Plunkett was well known in social circles in Dublin. He was curator of the National Museum, a barrister, an antiquarian, and a literary man of some note. Arthur Griffiths, the principal founder of the Sinn Fein movement and the editor of several publications that were suppressed, was also taken into custody and deported. A Roman Catholic clergyman, the superintendent of an insurance company, several urban district councillors in the suburbs, and some ex-soldiers were also arrested in Dublin city and county. In the county Wexford an assistant county surveyor, a newspaper manager, the chairman of a board of guardians,

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an alderman of the Wexford Corporation, and two ladies (one with a brother a naval lieutenant and the second the secretary of the County Insurance Committee) were amongst those arrested. In Mayo the arrests included a commercial traveller, a Gaelic League organiser, a hotel proprietor, and a Customs and Excise officer, whilst others taken in custody in the West of Ireland were a stationmaster, several rural district councillors, a technical school instructor, the brother of an M.P., a town commissioners' chairman, clerks in the county council offices, and several town councillors. In the Midlands a county surveyor, an ex-M.P., an engineer to a board of guardians, and several rural and urban councillors were arrested. In the South of Ireland generally the arrests included aldermen and members of city corporations, county and rural district councillors, justices of the peace, barristers, teachers in colleges and schools, an assistant clerk of a union. In Waterford two post office clerks and a Customs official were suspended. In the North of Ireland,

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in addition to hundreds of arrests, the houses of a clerk of petty sessions and of a magistrate were searched, and in the latter case a rifle was seized. In one northern county a county councillor and a justice of the peace was taken into custody. This list, which, of course, only relates to the most prominent amongst the personages arrested, gives some idea of the scope of the search that was made by the authorities after the revolt and of the positions and professions of those whom they thought to have been implicated in it. In addition to the above, some thousands of lesser-known men were arrested, and the list of deportations to England filled columns of the Dublin Press for weeks after the insurrection. The number and the character of the arrests not alone had a profound effect in Ireland, but also filled with some disquiet a portion of the British Press. The Nationalist Press in Ireland, even that section of it which had wholeheartedly advocated recruiting for the Army, was staggered, not alone by the executions, by the sentences to penal servitude, but perhaps

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most of all by the arrests and deportations. In numbers of Nationalist counties there had not alone been no rising, but not even the faintest attempt to create or support a rising. Yet arrests took place in counties like Tipperary, Wicklow, Kilkenny, Waterford, King's County, Westmeath, and Monaghan. To the local people and to the local Press this seemed inexplicable. Nationalist papers in Dublin and the provinces that recognised the justice and desirability of punishing the leaders were unanimous, not alone in pleading for the rank and file, but in condemning the arrests throughout the country of those who had taken no part in the rising. British Liberal newspapers also joined in the protest, but in the House of Commons the Government defended the arrests on the ground that none were kept in custody save those implicated in some way in the insurrection. Those who were arrested, but who proved their 'innocence, were released. There were, indeed, a number of discharges, but the great majority of those arrested were deported to England.

## CHAPTER VII

### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE REVOLT

AMAZEMENT was the first and the most powerful feeling aroused throughout the world by the news of the rebellion. That Ireland, which had been hailed at the very start of the war by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, as the "one bright spot" in the whole dark situation, should be the scene of an insurrection, whilst England was engaged in the most terrible war she had ever known, seemed unbelievable. Had not Mr. John Redmond, on the same memorable occasion on which Sir Edward Grey spoke, also told the world that Ireland was heart and soul with the Empire? Had he not invited the Government to take away all its soldiers



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from Ireland, leaving the defence of that country against foreign invasion in the hands of the Ulster and Irish National Volunteers? Had not Irishmen enlisted in thousands in the army? Had they not died for the Empire in Flanders, in France, in Gallipoli and in the Balkans? Had not Mr. Redmond and his Party over and over declared that all Ireland, save a negligible minority, were on the side of the Empire and the Allies in the war? Had not Michael O'Leary received a V.C.? Had not Lord Kitchener paid tribute to the bravery of the Irish troops in the field? To learn therefore in the face of all these things, that a rising the most daring, the most resourceful and the most dangerous since 1798 had broken out in Dublin, that the insurgents were in possession of a great part of the city, that there was grave danger of it spreading to the country, that outbreaks had in fact occurred in parts of the provinces—the realisation of these unpleasant facts came as a great shock on public opinion in Great Britain and the

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Colonies. True, there had been warnings that in Ireland all was not of the roseate hue painted by the Parliamentarians at Westminster and by certain sections of the British as well as by the Irish Press. Well-informed people knew that the elements of an explosion lurked beneath a surface that seemed so fair to the eye. Men had been arrested and deported in Ireland for delivering anti-recruiting speeches. Newspapers in Ireland had been suppressed for anti-British propaganda. Others had appeared in their places. Parades had taken place in Dublin and the provinces of armed and well-drilled men who were openly told that their duty was to fight in Ireland and for Ireland. All these things should have been sufficient to put public opinion in England on its guard. But they did not. Accordingly, therefore, when the revolt burst forth a feeling of stupefaction was created in Great Britain, being succeeded by a deep and bitter anger. This anger was manifested first against the Government for the negligent manner in which it

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had acted. Criticisms of the Irish Government were especially severe. Where was the Intelligence Department of this Government that it had allowed to mature a dangerous and a widespread movement? Where were the men at the head of affairs on that fateful Easter Monday when the insurgents practically took possession of Dublin? How came it that no arrangements were made for promptly dealing with a situation which they ought to have known would arise? Why had not the warnings of men who did know been listened to and acted upon? All these questions, and more, were asked in Great Britain with a vigour and a directness that must have been exceedingly irksome to the Government. There were some critics who elaborated the moral. The same muddle, the same lack of energy and foresight, the same weakness that had marked the Government's conduct of the war abroad, they declared, were equally responsible for the mess into which Ireland was plunged. The Government, said one vigilant newspaper, had not dealt

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with Sinn Fein, but Sinn Fein had dealt with them. Public opinion was undoubtedly impressed in Great Britain with these charges against the Government, and it was inevitable that as soon as things were quietened down a bit someone would have to go. In the end the resignations were announced of the three principal men associated with the Government of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wimborne, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, and the Under-Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan. The next and the most pronounced feeling uppermost in the minds of the people of Great Britain was one of strong animosity against the Irish insurgents, as well as those who sympathised with them. In ordinary times a revolt in Ireland would have been regarded as bad enough, but with England fighting with all her strength a powerful and a highly-organised enemy abroad the idea of rebellion at home was looked upon as not alone a terrible but a treacherous business. In the minds of the British people an impression prevailed that



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they had been exceptionally generous in their consideration of Ireland. They had been hearing for years that if the Irish obtained Home Rule they would become loyal and devoted children of the Empire. A Home Rule Bill had been signed by the King, and yet here were Irishmen up in arms, not for, but against England. They had seen conscription applied in Great Britain whilst Ireland escaped. It is not surprising, therefore, that a general feeling of anger and indignation should have arisen in the minds of people in Great Britain against not alone the insurgents but almost against everybody and everything Irish, even the Pro-British Irish M.P.'s who had misled them as to the state of the country. The Government, bowing to this feeling, took drastic steps to act upon it. There can be no doubt that in their anger and their indignation the executions and the deportations in Ireland met with almost unanimous support in Great Britain. This feeling of astonishment and of vexation was equally aroused in the Colonies.



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Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand were shocked and amazed at the news of the rebellion. In South Africa, however, where the racial question also culminated in a rebellion, a juster estimate of the difficulties and intricacies of the Irish problem was formed and was reflected in the message of sympathy sent by General Botha to Mr. John Redmond. The messages sent from all the Colonies, however, made it clear that the leaders of public opinion there exonerated the great bulk of the Irish people from complicity or sympathy with the rebellion. In the greater part of Ireland, indeed, the news of the rising came as an even greater shock than it did in Great Britain or abroad. Outside of Dublin and the cities and towns of the South and West, the Sinn Fein programme had never made much progress in Ireland. The farmers to a man were supporters of Mr. John Redmond and the Irish Nationalist Party. They had in a large number of cases purchased their lands through the medium of the Government.

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Their savings were invested in Government securities or in banks that depended on British credit for their stability. The country, as apart from the towns, was becoming prosperous, and a country that is becoming prosperous dislikes revolutions. Here and there were to be found men even in the remotest parts of the country who nourished the old traditional hatred of England. But generally speaking the farmers were not infected with this hatred. They may be said to neither hate nor love England, but they loved their lands. The majority of them would have sprung to such arms as they could possess if they thought those lands in peril from any source, but they did not see the necessity of fighting for England or the Empire. They were equally unwilling to fight against England or the Empire. To these men the news of the rebellion was irritating and annoying, as well as somewhat amazing. Sinn Fein meant to them an impossible and impracticable ideal. Sinn Feiners were mostly young men and the Irish farmer

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despises the judgment of young men. The older men in the towns and the country were against rebellion as a sinister and a futile business. They had heard their grandfathers speak of the horrors of '98. They had heard their fathers tell of the failure of '48. They themselves had seen the fiasco of the Fenians in '67. One thing alone would have put young and old in sympathy with the Sinn Feiners. That was the extension of conscription. But the Irish Party had saved the country from that, and the country accordingly remained, as a whole, quiet. The feelings of dismay and disgust, however, with which in its initial stages it regarded the revolt were shown by the first resolutions that were passed by public bodies, Nationalist as well as Unionist. For example in New Ross, in the very same county in which the insurgents had seized and held for several days an important town, the following resolution was unanimously adopted (May 5th) by a Nationalist body :—

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That we, the New Ross Board of Guardians, hereby, in the strongest possible manner, condemn the action of the Sinn Fein organisation and citizen army in their outrageous, disgraceful and blackguardly conduct at present carried on by them in the rioting and looting in Dublin and elsewhere; and we as a Nationalist Board entirely dissociate ourselves with such disgraceful and unworthy scenes, the more so at a time when our Empire and our Allies are involved in one of the greatest struggles for freedom the world has ever known; and we regard the present conduct as an insult to our brave and gallant Irishmen who have sealed the common bond between England and Ireland by shedding their blood on the battlefields of Flanders and other scenes of action. That we pass this resolution to show the responsible parties for the present crisis in Ireland are of the irresponsible class and so that the action of the loyal subjects cannot be misinterpreted by our Empire or our Allies. It is also resolved that we place implicit faith and trust in our able leader Mr. John Redmond and his party, and we unreservedly place ourselves in his hands, knowing full well that with the assistance of the Irish Party he will care-



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fully and consistently watch over the interests of the Irish People so that by reason of the acts of these worse than Hun parties the whole Irish race will not be disgraced and branded as traitors. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Redmond and all the Irish leaders.

This resolution is given in full because it is typical of the first views adopted by many Irish public bodies when they met and discussed the rebellion. Then came a qualification. The remembrance of Sir Edward Carson and his Ulster Volunteers, the threats of the Ulster Unionists to form a Provisional Government in case the Imperial Parliament passed a Home Rule Bill for Ireland, the gun-running in the North, the immunity of the Ulster leaders, the affair of the officers of the Curragh who refused to proceed against Ulster. All these things were too recent and too vivid in the minds of the Nationalists not to influence them in the expression of their opinions towards the Sinn Fein Rebellion.



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That rebellion, they argued, was a foolish and a wretched affair, but after all what had the Sinn Feiners done but put into practice what had been threatened for years by the Ulster Unionist leaders. The resolutions of the Nationalist public bodies, therefore, whilst denouncing the rebellion contained qualifying paragraphs relating to the Carsonite campaign in the North of Ireland. Waterford Guardians passed a resolution condemning Sir Edward Carson "as being the cause of first bringing arms into the North in defiance of the Government." Reasoning on this basis Nationalist speakers came to blame Sir E. Carson and the Ulster Unions as being the direct cause of the insurrection. "Why should not the South have arms as well as the North?" asked one Nationalist. When the list of executions, of penal servitude sentences, and of arrests and deportations swelled into huge proportions the resolutions took a new form. Less was said in condemnation of the rebellion and more of protest against the sentences

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and the deportations. In this the Nationalist public bodies were following the line adopted by the Nationalist Party. At the commencement Mr. John Redmond, as the spokesman of the Party, referred to the insurrection thus :—

My first feeling, of course, on hearing of this insane movement, was one of horror, discouragement, almost despair.

Continuing, he denounced the insurgents as enemies of Home Rule and declared that “this wicked move” was their last blow at the cause. “It is not half as much treason to the cause of the Allies as treason to the cause of Home Rule.” The whole affair was a German plot paid for and organised by Germany. “So far as Germany’s share in it is concerned it is a German invasion of Ireland, as brutal, as selfish, as cynical as Germany’s invasion of Belgium.”

As to the final result I do not believe that this wicked and insane movement will achieve its ends. The German plot has failed. The majority of the people of

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Ireland retain their calmness, fortitude and unity. They abhor this attack on their interests, their rights, their hopes, their principles. Home Rule has not been destroyed; it remains indestructible.

This was the first stage. Then came the executions, and Mr. Redmond felt himself compelled to refer to the bitter exasperation caused in Ireland by the shooting of the insurgents. The Irish Party met and a long manifesto was issued to the Irish people. It was mainly a justification of the policy of constitutional agitation, but it also contained references to the Ulster movement, the executions, and a rather milder denunciation of the rebellion itself.

Blood (it said) has been shed freely. It is true that Ireland had been bitterly provoked by the growth of a similar revolutionary and illegal movement in another portion of Ireland backed by an army in revolt. A grave responsibility for these events in Dublin rests on the leaders of that movement. Ireland has been shocked and horrified by the series of military executions, by military tribunals in Dublin.

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These things have been done in the face of the incessant and vehement protests of the Irish leaders, and these protests will be pressed continually and strongly until the unchecked control of the military authorities in Ireland is abolished. But it is also true that in spite of these bitter provocations the people of Ireland have had no hesitation in condemning the rising in Dublin as a dangerous blow at the heart and the hopes of Ireland.

This manifesto was followed by the impassioned speech of Mr. John Dillon, on the part of the Nationalist Party, in the House of Commons, in which he spoke of the maddening effect in Ireland of the executions, of the ruthless manner in which the rising had been crushed in comparison with the "clean" fight of the insurgents themselves. By the time Mr. Asquith determined to visit Ireland for himself, therefore, public opinion in that country was in nearly as chaotic a state as the centre of Dublin itself. The most contradictory views were expressed in Nationalist circles. Denunciations of the rebellion were

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mingled with protests against the executions, the sentences to penal servitude and the deportations. It is scarcely any wonder that the Prime Minister regarded the situation there as most unsatisfactory and went on the spot to see for himself. Whilst Nationalist Ireland was thus in the throes caused by conflicting emotions, Unionist Ireland was grim and self-satisfied. The Unionists had never been deceived by the professions of loyalty of the Nationalists. They had always believed them to be potential rebels. Here was clear and decisive proof. Disloyal Dublin had seized a critical moment in the world war, when England was preoccupied with the struggle abroad, to start a rebellion at home. Protestant archbishops and bishops, even those who had made speeches foreshadowing a new and more tolerant era in Ireland, were now to be found demanding most ruthless methods in dealing with the rebels. It was with fierce satisfaction that the Orangemen in the North hailed the crushing of the insurrection. They had



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helped to quell it and thus to prove their traditional fidelity to England and the Empire. They could not but feel that thereby their case against submitting to Home Rule was enormously strengthened. It was, therefore, a distracted country to which the Prime Minister came, a country filled with racial hatreds, suspicions and elemental emotions. Not even Belgium, Serbia, or Poland had a sadder or a more perplexing history, as a forcible English writer stated, and the ruins of Central Dublin, as well as the chaos in the minds of the people, bore testimony to the melancholy accuracy of the description. Irish opinion abroad was no less hopeless and divided. In the Colonies there was horror in dismay. In the United States of America there was absolute stupefaction. The Washington correspondents of the London Press bore testimony to the fact. The news of the rebellion and of the executions, of course, aroused intense feeling amongst the extreme Irish section in the States. This was but to be expected

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and it was accordingly discounted. The effect, however, on the moderate or conservative Irish element, the followers of Mr. John Redmond, was more serious. They had zealously striven to counter the German-Irish alliance in the States. They had fought the Clan-na-Gael campaign. They were on the side of President Wilson in his dealings with Germany. Amongst these men the news of the executions, the penal servitude sentences, and the deportations came with a deadening effect. For the time being, the extreme section got the upper hand, and, it would seem, actually gloated over the executions because of the opportunity afforded of gratifying their hatred of England. The President was attacked bitterly for having, as alleged, furnished information to the British Government which led to the capture of the Casement expedition. This charge was denied by the State Department. The American Press, on the whole, disapproved of the rebellion, though it was noted by the Washington correspondents of the London

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Press that there was equal disapproval of the death sentences. One prominent New York newspaper declared that the Irish-American members of the Clan-na-Gael encouraged the rising, but took good care not to risk their own skins. According to another source, "The Dublin Rebellion was planned in New York by Devoy, editor of the *Gaelic American*, with the aid of German money," a sum of £10,000 being obtained from Germans in New York and still larger sums from Germany. In France the news of the rising came as a surprise. It was not, however, regarded seriously in itself, the main reason why it was deplored being, to use the words of an English correspondent, "because of the misrepresentation that will be possible in Germany and under German influence in neutral countries." According to the same correspondent, there has been no incident that has done more harm to the Home Rule idea in France for the last twenty years. The Russian view was about the same, whilst in Italy the suppression of the revolt

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proved that all similar German attempts in South Africa, Egypt, India, Mexico, and elsewhere were doomed to failure. Another Italian view was that a similar attempt to the Irish revolt might be made under German influence in Portugal. In Germany itself, the progress and results of the Irish insurrection were naturally followed with the keenest interest. Little was said about the Casement expedition and his arrest, but the revolt in all its bearings was discussed fully and minutely. From the very first, it is apparent from the extracts of the German Press published in England, little hope was entertained of the success of the rebellion. The whole consensus of opinion, on the contrary, was that it would be crushed quickly and effectively. Believers as they are in big guns and machine-guns, the Germans could hardly think otherwise. They must have known that the insurgents were without artillery and that the lack of that arm spelt early and complete failure. The reasons, however, why the Germans exulted over the

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outbreak were because of the use they saw at once they could make out of it, not only in America, but in neutral countries.

German newspapers (wrote the *Morning Post's* Berne correspondent) acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the Sinn Feiners. Columns are published by them, and even more, especially by the Austrian newspapers, on the Irish disturbances and on Sir Roger Casement. How the revolt will be exploited by German ingenuity can easily be imagined.

Undoubtedly, it gave them an opportunity of which they made immediate use. In neutral countries they insinuated that, whilst Great Britain was engaged in the war on behalf of small nationalities, she was at home engaged in crushing a rebellion in one of the smallest of the nations. The pro-German Press in these neutral countries, of course, seconded the German propaganda. It was, therefore, on its moral side that the Germans were able to make the greatest use of the Irish revolt. In Austria, where racial questions have



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always been acute, and where the Irish question could be viewed with the knowledge gained by experience of similar problems, the Irish rebellion was hailed with equal satisfaction. According to one Vienna paper, the movement only materialised in Ireland "as soon as it was clearly realised that England was going to lose the war." Some hope seems to have been felt, too, by the Austrian and German Press that the Welsh and Scotch miners would follow the example of the Irish insurgents. On the whole, however, the Germans and the Austrians were content to make the most of the moral effect of the rising and influence thereby their own and neutral people's opinions. From the point of view, therefore, of the Allies the effects of the Irish trouble were irritating and annoying rather than material. True, the Germans hoped that a large British force might be tied up in Ireland, but they hoped more from the many ingenious uses they would be able to make of the rebellion in neutral countries, and especially in the United States.

## CHAPTER VIII

### AFTER THE REBELLION

ONE of the first acts of General Sir John Maxwell after the crushing of the revolt was the issue of an order directing members of the Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army to surrender, before Saturday, May 6th, all arms, ammunition, and explosives in their possession. This applied even to those who had taken no part in the rebellion. Another order forbade all parades, processions, football matches, or public assemblies of all kinds. Martial law, of course, still continued in Ireland for weeks after the revolt, though the hours up to which people could remain out of doors were gradually lengthened until midnight was reached. In Parliament, Irish affairs, as is usual after any trouble, occupied a

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prominent and a persistent place. When Mr. Birrell rose to make his statement and incidentally to announce his resignation, a scene was created by Mr. Ginnell, the Independent Nationalist member for South-west Meath. He accused Mr. Birrell of jobbery in Ireland, and had to be called to order by the Speaker. Mr. Birrell's statement was brief but surprising. They had been promised, he said, a full, true, searching, and particular inquiry into the causes of the insurrection. It would therefore be unwise, unfair, and improper to say anything relative to what might transpire at the Inquiry. When he was assured that the insurrection was quelled, he placed his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, who had accepted it. Mr. Birrell then made the remarkable admission that he had made an incorrect estimate of the Sinn Fein movement, but error on his part had not proceeded from any lack of thought, or consideration, or anxiety on his part. His supreme aim and duty was to maintain, if possible, an un-

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broken and an unimpaired front. He was well aware of the difficulties of the situation, but he conceived it as his duty to run great risks in order to maintain, in the face of Europe, the picture of unbroken union within the boundaries of Ireland. Mr. Redmond, who followed, made an equally extraordinary admission. He said he felt that he had incurred some share of the blame, because he had agreed with Mr. Birrell that the danger of an outbreak of this kind was not a real one, and what he said might have influenced Mr. Birrell in his management of Irish affairs. Sir Edward Carson also paid a graceful tribute to Mr. Birrell, and in Parliamentary circles, where he was very urbane and popular, the melancholy end of his political career was heard of with general regret. In Dublin, precisely the same feelings did not prevail. In Unionist circles the very qualities that endeared Mr. Birrell to politicians were regarded as the causes that led to so much ruin and devastation in Ireland. It was felt that, whilst Mr. Birrell was returning

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humorous answers, which turned away wrath, to Irish M.P.'s, he was leaving Irish affairs to look after themselves to a great extent. It was recalled that he was not very often in Ireland, that he rarely spoke there, and that he was seemingly content to take his opinions secondhand rather than see for himself on the spot. True, he had held the Chief Secretaryship in this manner for a longer period than most others, but then the catastrophe was all the greater in the end. In Independent Nationalist circles there was a disposition to blame the Irish Nationalist leaders along with Mr. Birrell. They, too, had not been well informed as to Irish affairs. On May 7th it was officially announced that Sir Robert Chalmers had been appointed Irish Under-Secretary in succession to Sir Matthew Nathan. No announcement was, however, made as to any successor to Mr. Birrell, and this, as will be noted afterwards, gave rise to rumours as to a change in the Government of Ireland. On May 10th the House of Lords took up



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the debate on the Irish question. Lord Loreburn said it was only by an accident that Dublin Castle had not been captured by the insurgents. The Government appeared to be wholly unprepared. The House of Commons had allowed Mr. Birrell to be a scapegoat, but other Ministers must have known what was happening. There had been a neglect of the elementary duties of government, and the events of the war had also shown the danger of silence when carried to excess. A grave mistake had been made with regard to the Irish rising, and it was the duty of the House of Lords to record dissatisfaction, to ask how the mistake arose, and to be told who was at fault. Lord Midleton spoke in stronger vein. The police had been ordered to take no notice of the Sinn Feiners or their activities. The problem of German spies in Ireland had been neglected. It was known that German submarines had received supplies from the Irish coast. Sinn Feiners had been caught distributing treasonable literature.

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Judges were criticised. Juries were dragooned. One offender, tried for a treasonable speech, was fined one shilling, and the crowd in the court cheered for the German Emperor. An official of the Sinn Fein organisation was found in possession of a case of explosives. No action was taken.

Lord Midleton went on to give other instances, which tended to show that the rebellion should not have come as a surprise to the Government, and then told how steps had been even taken by business men in Ireland to inform the Government in case they still remained blind to the dangers of the situation. Last autumn he had shown Mr. Birrell a copy of a speech and of the orders of the Irish Volunteers. Mr. Birrell's reply was :—

The step of proclaiming the Irish Volunteers as an illegal body and putting them down by force wherever they are organised would, in my opinion, be a reckless and foolish act, and promote disloyalty to a prodigious extent in Ireland.

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All the trouble had been caused, Lord Midleton asserted, because a Chief Secretary, who governed Ireland longer and resided there less than any Chief Secretary since the Union, would not listen to representations addressed to him from responsible quarters. The noble lord asked that martial law should be continued until all arms had been taken from the rebels, and that all guilty of murder should suffer the death penalty. Further, all Sinn Feiners should be dismissed from the public service. Lord Crewe, in a weak reply, announced, incidentally, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Wimborne) had resigned. No organised effort, he declared, had been made by any body of persons to bring before the Government, as a whole, any collection of facts which would have made action imperative. Earl Desart, ex-Public Prosecutor, said that anyone who believed there would not be an aftermath of passion and hatred in Ireland was profoundly mistaken. They must, however, show that treason would not be

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tolerated in war time. In the House of Commons, on the same day, Irish members were busy questioning the Government as to the fate of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington. In reply, Mr. Asquith said he had received the following report from the General Officer Commanding in Dublin :—

Mr. Skeffington was shot on the morning of April 25th without the knowledge of the military authorities. The matter is now under investigation; and the officer concerned, that is, the officer who directed the shooting, has been under arrest since May 6th. Directions have been given to bring his case before a Court-martial.

“He should be handed over to the civil authorities as an ordinary murderer,” ejaculated Mr. T. M. Healy, an Independent Nationalist member. Mr. Asquith, continuing, said the case appeared to be the isolated act of an irresponsible individual. With regard to two other cases which are alleged to have taken place at the same time, the same procedure would be pursued. On the same day the instruc-



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tions given to Sir John Maxwell by the Army Council with regard to steps to be taken by him as to the Irish outbreak were published as follows :—

His Majesty's Government desire that Sir John Maxwell will take all such measures as may in his opinion be necessary for the prompt suppression of the insurrection in Ireland, and be granted a free hand in regard to all troops now in Ireland or which may be placed under his command hereafter, and also in regard to such measures as may seem to him advisable under the Proclamation dated April 26th, issued under the Defence of the Realm Act, 1915.

Undoubtedly, the powers given to Sir John Maxwell were wide and drastic, and he used them firmly and with sternness. His position, as he took occasion to declare, was not a pleasant one. On one hand were the loyalists and the loyalist Press clamouring for swift and merciless punishment, whilst on the other hand the Nationalists and English Radicals were on the side of leniency. In the end Sir John



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Maxwell, as is usual in such circumstances, did not exactly satisfy either side, though a bigger clamour was made by those denouncing the military executions than by those who did not think they were numerous enough. It was not until about May 7th, a week after the surrenders, that the causes of the revolt began to be generally discussed. The views of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., an influential member of the Irish Party, were interesting. He attributed the rebellion to the armed Carsonite movement in Ulster, to active German intrigue, to the Larkinite movement (of which the revolt was the backwash), and he assigned, as a contributory cause, the War Office refusal to allow Mr. Redmond to arm and equip the Volunteers who kept faithful to him. He urged the hurrying on of the opening of an Irish Parliament in Dublin. A Roman Catholic Bishop (Dr. Gilmartin) blamed the Government for inaction. This Volunteer business was allowed to go too far, and Sir Edward Carson and his men were allowed to do

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practically what they liked. Another Roman Catholic Bishop (Dr. Higgins) declared that, in the case of the insurgents, it was "the old, old story of relying on false promises of foreign aid." Where, he asked, was the German army that promised to assist these men? The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel (Dr. Harty) said the Irish people as a whole did not want revolution, being content to rely on constitutional means for redress of their grievances. "A senseless, meaningless, debauch of blood," was the description of Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, another Catholic Bishop. The fundamental cause of all the trouble in Ireland for three years, wrote a Nationalist M.P., was that Sir Edward Carson was allowed to establish, arm, and equip, and publicly drill large bodies of citizens in defiance of the law. The followers of Larkin claimed the same right, and the Government, having made the fatal error of permitting one set of volunteers could not well suppress another body. The remedy was for all armed men in Ireland,

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outside of the military and police forces, to give up their arms. It was in the heated atmosphere following the rebellion that the delicate subject of conscription for Ireland again came forward. In the case of the Military Service Bill for unmarried men, Ireland had been excluded. When the Conscription Bill for the married men was under discussion (May 10th) it was proposed by the Ulster Unionists that it should apply to Ireland. Sir John Lonsdale, in moving the proposal, appealed to Mr. Redmond to accept it. With the suppression of the rebels no opposition to conscription need be feared in Ireland. Mr. Asquith, in a cautious reply, admitted that, logically, there was no reason why Ireland should be excluded, but a very large number of Irish representatives were not at the moment prepared to agree to the application of the Bill to Ireland. It was undesirable in every way to plunge into controversy, but the Government were reviewing, with the utmost care, the military arrangements of Ireland and the whole

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question of arms in Ireland. Sir Edward Carson declared that the true reason for excluding Ireland was not the outbreak that had occurred, but Mr. Redmond's opposition. Recruiting was over in Ireland, the Government never having taken the slightest step to put down the anti-recruiting campaign. Mr. John Redmond, who followed, said if the Irish Party had held power and responsibility for the past two years, the recent outbreak would never have occurred. Ireland had done well for the Empire in the war, but at the moment, after recent events, it would be wrong, unwise, and well-nigh insane, to force conscription on Ireland. Colonel Winston Churchill intervened in the debate, and made a remarkable speech. The omission of Ireland, he admitted, would be serious, but it was not advisable to court an Irish row. He added, however, the curious prophecy that they were nearer a solution of the Irish question than was commonly supposed. The proposal to apply the Conscription Bill failed, but interest in the



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result was less keen than in the hint conveyed in Colonel Churchill's speech. Speculation was rife on the matter in political circles, and it became more acute when, the next day (May 11th), after Mr. Dillon's vehement speech denouncing the military executions, Mr. Asquith announced his intention of proceeding to that country, the situation of which the Government regarded as unsatisfactory. On the same day that the subject of applying conscription to Ireland was debated, the military and police casualties in the Irish insurrection were announced by the Prime Minister. They were heavier than expected, the figures being :—

RANK.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Military Officers . . .	17	46
Rank and File . . .	86	311
Royal Irish Constabulary .	12	23
Dublin Metropolitan Police .	3	3
Royal Navy . . .	1	2
Loyal Volunteers . . .	5	3
Total . . .	124	388

These figures, with nine missing soldiers,



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gave a complete total of 521. A day or two later the civilian casualties in Dublin were announced as follows: Killed, 180; wounded, 604. The Prime Minister could not guarantee the accuracy of these figures, and it was especially impossible to separate insurgents from the ordinary population. This was understandable, as numbers of the insurgents wore no distinctive uniform. When killed or wounded it was, therefore, difficult in their cases to classify them apart from the ordinary civilians who met their deaths by stray bullets or from the looters who were shot dead alike by the troops and by the insurgents. In connection with the estimate given of the civilian casualties in Dublin, it is interesting to note that from the start of the revolt up to May 4th there were 216 interments in Glasnevin Cemetery alone, and 68 in other cemeteries, due to gun wounds, so that the civilian casualties must have been much greater than the estimate given in Parliament. One of the matters to which attention was called at an early stage in the

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rebellion was the participation in it of civil servants. According to one newspaper certain Government departments in Dublin were honeycombed with treason. There were, indeed, several arrests of men who held positions in Government departments. On May 11th Lord Lansdowne, in the course of the Peers' debate on the Irish situation, made the important announcement that the Government had decided that no Sinn Feiner should be employed in any Government department. Martial law also would not, he said, be withdrawn in Ireland until it could be done with absolute safety. On May 12th Mr. Asquith arrived in Dublin, and after inspecting the ruins he held long conferences with Sir John Maxwell and the military authorities. Immediately the most astonishing rumours were afloat as to the objects of his visit. In some quarters it was taken to mean that a dramatic change in the Government of Ireland was in immediate contemplation. This change was outlined in the Press under varying forms. The one most gene-

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rally accepted was that a National Council would be formed to help in the Government of Ireland, several prominent Irishmen being associated in the work. On Monday, May 15th, Mr. Asquith visited Belfast and conferred with some leading business men. He returned to Dublin in the evening. The obvious deduction was that the Prime Minister went to Belfast to see for himself if a settlement of the Home Rule question were possible in the interests of the Empire. If that were the real object of his visit, however, he could not have found the Belfast Press very much to his taste. One and all of the Unionist Ulster papers made it clear that it was useless trying to convert that province to Home Rule. On Tuesday (May 16th) Mr. Asquith was again busy with conferences in Dublin, political circles being again very active discussing the purport of his movements. An unusual development occurred on Wednesday (May 17th) when the Premier was sworn in as a member of the Irish Privy Council at Dublin Castle.

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Such an event was unprecedented in Irish history, and naturally public curiosity was further stimulated by the intelligence. On Friday (May 19th) Mr. Asquith travelled to Cork and saw several important personages in that city. He afterwards returned to London, without making any statement or giving any indication as to the reasons which actuated him in making his rather mysterious visit to Ireland. In one respect, indeed, his visit had a direct effect, pleasing alike to Unionist and Nationalist property owners in the ruined area of Dublin. This was an official statement as to compensation for the damage done as a result of the revolt. On Tuesday (May 16th), while Mr. Asquith was still in Dublin, the following official announcement was made :—

In connection with the destruction in Dublin and elsewhere of buildings and their contents the State will assume, as the maximum of its *ex gratia* grant, the same liability as would have fallen on insurance companies if the risk had been covered by



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policies in force at the time of the recent disturbances. The Lord Lieutenant has decided to appoint a committee (*a*) (1): To ascertain what were the sums covered for ordinary fire risks by insurance policies in force at the time of the destruction of the property; (2) to advise what part of such sums would normally have been paid by the insurance companies if the destruction had been caused by accidental fire; and (*b*), having regard to the information obtained under the foregoing heads, to advise how, in analogy, the several claims of uninsured persons could fairly be dealt with. For the foregoing purposes looting may be deemed to be burning, but no consequential damages of any kind are to be taken into account. In no case will any grant be made in respect of persons in complicity with the outbreak.

This statement, though it still fell short of the hopes and expectations of the sufferers by fire and loot, nevertheless raised a great load off their minds, especially as they had learnt that fire insurance companies, save where bound by a special war-risk clause, refused all liability in connec-



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tion with property losses in Dublin. As showing the nature of the losses in Dublin, it may be mentioned that the amount of claims lodged up to the middle of May, 1916, came to £2,500,000, whilst to the same date applications made on the Dublin Corporation for malicious injury and damage reached nearly four million pounds. Two things stared property owners in the face: (1) the loss to them caused by the actual destruction of their premises, and (2) the consequential damage done to their business, pending rebuilding. With State aid they might hope to rebuild; but how were they to meet the grave loss caused by the prolonged interval? Some firms had branch offices elsewhere in the city, and others were able to obtain temporary premises, but the majority were, of course, unable to do more than dismiss their employees and wait for the reconstruction of their buildings. Under such circumstances it can well be imagined that the appeal for new and more beautiful streets to spring up on the old

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and rather congested area around Sackville Street did not fall on ears that were very sympathetic. The matter was brought under the notice of the Corporation, but the Town Clerk explained that that body had no power to enforce designs for rebuilding or widening streets. The Council's officers might suggest alterations in designs, but could not enforce them. Business people who had lost all could not afford to be too anxious for the good appearance of the streets. Their main effort was to restore their business. On the whole, however, the desire was very general that, so far as Sackville Street at least was concerned, the new should be an improvement on the old. Outside of that area, indeed, the damage was surprisingly small. This was due to the fact that the insurgents, blinded as they were to the consequences of their acts against the troops, were, nevertheless, in most cases desirous of saving their city from destruction. Evidence exists that in at least one case a looter was shot dead in Sackville Street by

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the insurgents in the General Post Office. The testimony of British officers who were in the custody of the insurgents during the hottest part of the fighting is interesting in this respect. Captain Brereton, J.P., relating (May 14) his experiences in Dublin during the rising, stated he was taken prisoner near the Four Courts by the Sinn Feiners. In their custody also were two other British officers, an Army chaplain, three policemen, a private soldier, and three civilians. There were 150 insurgents in the Four Courts, and what impressed Captain Brereton most about them was :—

The international military tone adopted by their officers. They were not out for massacre, for burning, or for loot. They were out for war, observing all the rules of civilised warfare and fighting clean. So far as I saw, they fought like gentlemen. They had possession of the restaurant in the Four Courts. It was stocked with wines and spirits and champagne, yet there was no sign of drinking amongst them, and I was informed they were all total ab-

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stainers. They treated their prisoners with the utmost courtesy and consideration—in fact, they proved by their conduct what they were: men of education, incapable of acts of brutality, though also misguided and fed up with lies and false expectations.

Exactly a similar story was told by Private Richardson (May 15), who was a prisoner at the General Post Office. An insurgent leader there named The O'Rahilly saw to the feeding of the prisoners, saying they would share alike in that matter with the Sinn Feiners. "It's war time," he said to the soldiers, "and we are short ourselves, but we've done the best we could for you." It may be mentioned here that The O'Rahilly was fatally wounded during the evacuation of the General Post Office, and his dead body was afterwards found in Moore Street in the vicinity. A soldier in another building held by the insurgents said, as he lay a prisoner in their hands, he was offered stimulants. The cellar was filled with

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liquor, but the insurgents never touched one drop. "We are out on a very desperate venture," said their leader, "and we do not expect any of us will be left alive, but we will not have anything to do with drink. We know it was drink that ruined the insurrection of 1798." Perhaps this feature of the rebellion was its most curious aspect, the semblance of austerity, almost puritanical in its strictness, of the insurgents. All the more surprising is it when the age of most of them is recollected. In Amiens Street a deadly and continuous rifle fire came from one house. Eventually it was taken by the troops with machine-guns and bombs. On being searched the astonishing fact was revealed that the house had been held by a solitary sniper, a mere lad of 15. He had an ample supply of ammunition, was remarkably active in shooting from side and front windows, and was a crack shot. "I wish we had some more of your kind at the front," said the British officer who arrested the youth. When a Catholic priest visited the



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General Post Office at the hottest part of the fighting, to attend a dying volunteer, he found another lad of 15 busy firing at the military. Moved by the boy's size and appearance, he offered to try to remove him from the inferno, but nothing would induce the youth to leave his comrades. The whole insurrection was, indeed, a tragic and a futile thing, marked by ignorance combined with heroism, by blunders on both sides, by horrors side by side with little human touches that in some way redeemed its worst features. Miserable as were its effects in a ruined Dublin and an Ireland dismayed and disheartened, it is doubtful if anywhere the news was received with such poignant feelings as among the Irish at the front.

"The trials have been ours," wrote an Irish officer in the firing line abroad. "I don't think my condition of over-strain alone could possibly account for the dejection of spirit into which the news threw me. It puts Ireland back a generation. It was cruel and foolish. Dublin has a tragic

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way of becoming European. I do feel lonely at the thought of Ireland. You will exhaust facts and arguments, but you won't eradicate a new suspicion of Irishmen this ghastly thing will have created."

This was a pessimistic way of looking at things, but the fact that this pessimism did not affect the fighting efficiency of the Irish troops at the Front is proved by the reports of British war correspondents—that never did they fight so desperately against the Germans as at the very time when the Sinn Feiners were fighting against the British in Dublin. Such are the contrasts that amaze and startle those who try to understand the Irish.

Apart from the executions, the penal servitude sentences, and the deportations, two phases of the insurrection aroused intense interest in Dublin when things had quietened down. The first of these was the case of Mr. F. Sheehy Skeffington, and the second was what was known as the North King Street affair. On May 7th a statement written by Mrs. Skeffington was

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published and circulated by a news agency. Its main features were that her husband was a pacifist, that his sole movements during the insurrection related to a scheme to prevent looting, that he was, nevertheless, conducted, in military custody, to Portobello Barracks, Dublin, where he was shot without trial. Pending a full investigation into all the circumstances, impartial public opinion was reserved about this case. With reference to the North King Street affair, the facts were as follows: Some bullet-riddled bodies were dug up after the rising by sanitary officers in a licensed vintner's cellar. The allegation was that they were killed by the military, although they had no connection with the Sinn Fein movement. At inquests on two of the bodies, the jury found "the men died from bullet wounds inflicted by soldiers in whose custody they were, unarmed and unoffending prisoners." The affair occasioned considerable controversy in Dublin. In a statement given to the Press, General Sir John Maxwell declared that the troops had

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been fired at, front and back, in the houses in this district, and their casualties had been heavy. Under the circumstances, it would not have been surprising if the soldiers were unable to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. A rebellion of this kind could not be suppressed by kid-glove methods. He had, however, ordered a strict military inquiry into the allegations against the troops, and any man proved guilty would be properly punished. With this promise of investigation into the North King Street affair, and with the Government undertaking that the whole circumstances of the Skeffington and companion cases would be investigated, both these matters lay in abeyance for the time being. On Monday, May 15th, the magisterial investigation into the charge of High Treason against Sir Roger Casement was opened in London, before Sir J. Dickinson. With Sir Roger Casement in the dock appeared a man named Daniel Julian Bailey, stated to be a native of Dublin. It was alleged that he was in the Royal Irish



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Rifles, that he had been taken prisoner by the Germans, that he joined the German Irish Brigade, and that he accompanied Sir Roger in a submarine to Ireland in order to assist in fomenting and taking part in the Irish Rebellion. Evidence was given by Irish prisoners of war in Germany, who had been released, that they had seen Casement at Limberg trying to get Irish soldiers to join the Irish Brigade, and that they had heard him saying that Germany was going to free Ireland. A pamphlet was distributed among the Irish prisoners. It read :—

Irishmen, here is a chance for you to fight for Ireland. You have fought for England, your country's hereditary enemy. You have fought for Belgium in England's interests, though it was no more to you than the Fiji Islands. The object of the Irish Brigade will be to fight solely the cause of Ireland, and in no circumstances shall it be directed in the interests of Germany.

Other evidence related to the dramatic capture of Casement after his landing from



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a German submarine off the Irish coast, of the sinking of a German vessel with arms and ammunition for Ireland, and of the statements of Bailey to the police. After three days' hearing the two accused were committed for trial. The magisterial investigation in this case had scarcely concluded when the sittings were opened of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the rebellion in Ireland. The proceedings before the Royal Commission were followed nearly as keenly as the evidence of the Casement trial, and for the time being the war was almost forgotten. Meanwhile, the sentences to penal servitude and the deportations continued. Up to May 26th the lists of deported persons published in the Dublin Press totalled 2,330; amongst those in the very latest list up to that time being Alderman James Nowlan, of Kilkenny, the President of the Gaelic Athletic Association. On Saturday (May 20th) the names of eighteen men sent to penal servitude for terms varying from five to three years were published. They

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brought the total sentences to that date (including fifteen executions) up to 139. The last eighteen men hailed from Kerry, Wexford, and the West of Ireland. Further arrests in the country were also announced on the same date. One tragic month, therefore, in Ireland had witnessed the outbreak of a dangerous rebellion, its stern suppression, the incidental destruction of Central Dublin, causing losses extending into millions of pounds, the death or wounding of nearly 1,500 people, the shooting of fifteen insurgent leaders, the sending to penal servitude of scores of others, the arrests and deportations to England of thousands of Irishmen. It had also seen the resignations of all responsible for the government of Ireland, and on the bright side it had seen hopes expressed that, despite all the ruin, there was a better time in store for Ireland.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE ROYAL COMMISSION

THE Royal Commission, appointed to investigate the facts surrounding the rebellion in Ireland, opened at Westminster on Thursday, May 18th. The members of the Commission were: Lord Hardinge, Mr. Justice Shearman, and Sir Mackenzie Chalmers. The first witness was Sir Matthew Nathan, late Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He described the movement that led up to the rebellion as the work of the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Other anti-British Associations in Ireland were the Sinn Fein Society, the Gaelic League, and the Gaelic Athletic Association. These bodies op-

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posed Mr. Redmond and repudiated his claim, "to offer up the blood and lives of the sons of Ireland and Irishmen to the service of the British Empire, while no National Government, which could speak and act for the people of Ireland, is allowed to exist." When the cleavage occurred in the Nationalist ranks in Ireland over the question of recruiting for the Army, the vast bulk of the National Volunteers followed Mr. Redmond, their numbers being nearly 170,000, whilst not more than 11,000 adhered to the disloyal section, which then became known as the Irish Volunteers. Afterwards, however, Mr. Redmond's Volunteers fell in numbers, whilst the disloyal Volunteers increased in strength. At the time of the outbreak, the latter numbered about 15,200, including both Dublin and the provinces. In addition to these Irish (or Sinn Fein) Volunteers, there was the Citizen Army. The total number of the Dublin Corps of the Citizen Army was about 300 on the eve of the rebellion. The Citizen Army con-

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sisted of the militant members of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, which, under James Larkin, had been concerned in the Dublin strike of 1913, and which, when Larkin, at the end of 1914, left Ireland for America, obeyed the orders of James Connolly. It was believed that the close association between the Citizen Army and the Irish (or Sinn Féin) Volunteers only dated from the latter part of 1915, the Citizen Army leaders being eager for violent action. In this they were supported by the Irish Republican leaders, consisting of a small knot of men associated with the dynamite outrages in 1883. These men worked with great secrecy and never appeared publicly. It was the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army, and the Irish Republicans who constituted the inner circle where the plans for the rebellion were drawn. They were in close touch with organisations in America from whom they received funds which were used to maintain seditious newspapers, leaflets, and to employ organisers throughout Ireland



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to win people to join the Irish organisers. Women's societies were formed and the members trained for first-aid work. Rifles were obtained in many ways. Large numbers of them were imported. Others were stolen from the military. Army ammunition had also been taken as well as explosives. Describing the steps taken to deal with this dangerous movement, Sir Matthew Nathan pointed out the initial difficulty in the way of disarmament. A Judicial Commission which sat shortly after the outbreak of the war had declared any attempt to deprive Volunteers of their arms to be illegal. The proceedings of the Irish Volunteers were, however, carefully watched, and Civil Servants were warned not to belong to the organisation. Persons were dismissed from the Ordnance Stores, the Post Office, the Inland Revenue, the Ordnance Survey, and other Government Departments. In the case of priests assisting the Irish Volunteers in any public way, representations were made to their higher ecclesiastical authorities. Seditious news-

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papers had been suppressed, and the cases of others had been under consideration at the time the rebellion broke out. As regards the organisers of the Irish Volunteers, some had been imprisoned and some deported. Of 496 cases in Ireland under the Defence of the Realm Act regulations, 153 had been for making use of seditious and anti-recruiting language and 34 for offences in relation to arms and ammunition. Juries, however, could not be trusted in connection with cases of this kind, and there were miscarriages of justice in Dublin and Cork. Sir Matthew Nathan read a letter written by the Adjutant-General suggesting that, in the event of emergency, trials by court-martial in Ireland might be restored. He replied to this letter by stating that, though the Irish Volunteers had been active, he did not believe they meant rebellion or that they had sufficient arms to make it formidable. The bulk of the people were not disaffected. Proceeding, Sir Matthew said that the Irish Government had considered it of primary

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importance to prevent the Irish Volunteers becoming a military danger, and that every obstacle should be placed in the way of arms and ammunition getting into their hands. It was difficult to make this policy effective. English manufacturers had been importing freely into Ireland for some time after the commencement of the war, and even after the importation was forbidden, owing to the action of the Customs examiners, it was impossible to prevent forbidden goods from getting through. As late as April 16th a case of 500 bayonets was detected by the police on the way from a Sheffield cutler to the Sinn Fein manager of what was believed to be a reputable firm.

Referring to the warnings and events immediately preceding the insurrection, Sir Matthew said that until Good Friday there was no definite information of any alliance between the anti-British Party in Ireland and the Germans. From America, indeed, came reports that Sir Roger Casement had given a pledge that a German army would land in Ireland. These reports appeared

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in the New York Press of October 1915, and it was also rumoured that Germany reported the Irish Volunteers to be ready. It was known that the young men in the movement were anxious to start the insurrection, and they were backed up strongly by James Connolly, but the heads of the volunteers were against an immediate rebellion, and one of them said it would be sheer madness unless help from Germany was forthcoming. On March 28th a Dublin daily newspaper published a statement purporting to be issued from the headquarters of the Irish Volunteers stating that the possession of arms was essential to their movement, and that any attempt to disarm them by the Government would be followed by resistance and bloodshed. Sir Matthew Nathan then went on to speak of the events of the week preceding the rebellion. On April 17th the Irish Government received information in a letter of the contemplated landing from a German ship made up as a neutral and accompanied by two submarines of arms and



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ammunition on the south-west coast of Ireland. The police were put on their guard. The destruction of the vessel containing the arms was followed by the arrest of Sir Roger Casement. About the same time word was received from the county inspector at Tralee that a motor-car containing Sinn Feiners had driven into the sea by accident, and the party, except the driver, drowned. Two Irish Volunteers had also been arrested at Tralee on a charge of conspiracy to land arms. Next came the notice published by John MacNeill, "Chief of Staff, Irish Volunteers," cancelling the orders for mobilisation on Easter Sunday. No movement was reported on that date, but it was stated that five 50-lb. cases of gelignite had been stolen and brought to Dublin by motor-car. At the Viceregal Lodge a consultation took place, and in view of what had occurred it was considered by the Irish Government that the position justified the arrest and internment in England of some of the leaders of the movement. That course was, therefore,



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decided upon. Then came telegrams reporting malicious damage to railways and telegraphs. The first shot was fired a little after noon on Easter Monday, April 24th. While the situation was, in fact, being discussed at the Castle, the body of a dying policeman was carried into the yard. It appeared that a meeting of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers had taken place on Easter Saturday or Easter Sunday, and it had been decided by a majority of one to start the rebellion on Easter Monday. The only practical purpose such an insurrection could achieve was to detain a large number of troops in the city for a time, which would be valuable to a hostile force operating elsewhere. Apart from its general ultimate futility, the conduct of the insurrection showed greater organising power and more military skill than had been attributed to the volunteers, and they also appeared, from reports, to have acted with great courage. These things, and the high character of some of the idealists who took part in the insurrection, no doubt

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accounted for the sympathy which they excited in a large number of people in Dublin, and in many cases in the country. There were also the deeper grounds of passionate national feelings for Ireland and long hatred of England. Referring to the problem of previous disarmament of the Irish Volunteers, Sir Matthew Nathan declared that if this were done and the Ulster Volunteers formed to resist Home Rule had been allowed to continue, the Nationalists would thereby have been completely alienated, and with them that large body of Irish feeling favourable to Great Britain in the war, and which had sent some 55,000 Irish Catholics to fight for the Empire. Such measures as had been adopted by the Irish Government, the suppression of seditious newspapers and the prosecutions for inflammatory speeches, were taken against the advice of the Irish Parliamentary Party, whose loyalty was undoubted. It was for these reasons that the policy of the Government was not to attempt the suppression of the volunteers.

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Any attempt to have done so would have been forcibly resisted. Sir Matthew was questioned at some length as to the sham attack on Dublin Castle made by the Irish Volunteers on October 6th, 1915. He did not believe it meant to precede a real attack unless under the circumstances of an enemy landing in Ireland. Sir Matthew said he had had interviews on the state of Ireland with Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Devlin. He also handed to the President a memorandum of interviews he had had with Lord Midleton, which he desired to keep private. The principal witness before the Commission at the second day's sitting on Friday, May 19th, was Mr. Birrell, the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland. He traced the use and progress of the Sinn Fein movement as mainly due to the old hatred and distrust of the British Convention. He then went on to describe how it was that the movement had been found increasing during the past two years. Even with the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, the chance of its ever becoming a

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fact seemed to some Irishmen so uncertain, the outstanding difficulty about Ulster was so obvious, and the details of the Home Rule measure itself were so unattractive, that people left off talking about it or waving it in the air. The sneers of the O'Brienites and the naggings of the independent Nationalist Press in Ireland contributed to the political eclipse of Home Rule. There were growing doubts of its advent, and added to this the Ulster rebellion plans had a most prodigious effect on disloyalists everywhere in Ireland. It was impossible also to over-estimate the effect on Nationalist Ireland of the formation of a Coalition Government with Sir Edward Carson as a member. If Mr. Redmond had consented to enter the Cabinet he would that instant have ceased to be an Irish leader. This formation of a Coalition Government seemed to make an end of Home Rule and strengthened the Sinn Feiners enormously. As regards the rebellion the opinion seemed to have been held by some Irishmen that a German landing



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was possible. German assistance was at the bottom of the outbreak. He realised that there was a dangerous movement in Ireland, but after consultation with various Irish leaders came to the conclusion that non-intervention was the safest policy. Mr. Redmond always took the view that the Sinn Feiners were negligible, and he was good enough to say so in Parliament. "I did not attach much importance to Mr. Redmond's opinion upon that matter," added Mr. Birrell, "because I was sure they were dangerous. At the same time Mr. Redmond expressed the opinion strongly, and it did affect my mind to this extent that I gave it great consideration. But I came round to another view. Mr. Dillon, for example, was strongly the other way, not in the sense of taking action, but strongly of opinion that the Sinn Fein and the insurrectionary movement undoubtedly was a danger. Mr. Dillon was however in favour of non-intervention in the absence of proof of hostile association with the enemy." Mr. Birrell, continuing,



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said he was exceedingly nervous about what would happen. At a conference which he attended in the War Office in March he put the view forward that if more soldiers were sent to Dublin it would make an impression on the Sinn Feiners. It would have shown them the military were in possession. In some parts of Ireland the priest was a source of disaffection. One of the most anti-British letters had been written by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick. The literary Sinn Fein movement had been drawn into the military movement by the excitement of the war, which had a tremendous effect upon Ireland. The rebellion, however, had been a failure from the beginning. He did not think another thousand soldiers would have made any difference unless they had been posted beforehand in the General Post Office and other buildings in Dublin. There were rumours spread among the people that the Germans were landing, and that they had guns. If that had been so he could not say what the population would

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have done. Some might have joined in the rebellion. As regards his presence in London, he declared that for a Chief Secretary to be absent from meetings of the Cabinet when Irish matters were dealt with was a disaster. Further extraordinary disclosures were made at the third sitting in London on Monday, May 22nd. At the commencement of the proceedings on this date the President read a letter from General Macready, the Adjutant-General of the Forces, with reference to the statement by Mr. Birrell about the need of more soldiers in Dublin. The facts were that Mr. Birrell, with Lord Wimborne and others, came over from Ireland and had a conference at the War Office on March 20th, purely in relation to recruiting in Ireland. Various proposals were made, among others that troops should be sent from England to Ireland to be quartered in localities other than Dublin for the purpose of encouraging recruiting. It was not considered that the presence of these troops would have an effect on re-

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crucial in Ireland commensurate with the delay that would take place in training the men and the unpopularity of the movement. Mr. Birrell afterwards saw Lord French, and so far as the War Office were aware no question arose of sending troops for the purpose of overawing the Sinn Feiners. General Friend, however, had written, intimating that there might be trouble in the South of Ireland, and arrangements were made that a reserve brigade should be earmarked if called for by the Irish authorities. Mr. Birrell's visit on March 23rd had also, so far as the War Office was aware, no connection with sending troops to Ireland to anticipate or crush any rebellion, though, of course, had troops been sent for recruiting purposes they would have been available for any emergency. Asked by the President if he wished to make any remarks on this letter, Mr. Birrell said he had in his mind when he mentioned the matter three sets of interviews, one at the War Office, a second at the Horse Guards with Lord French, and other interviews

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with General Friend. At all these interviews, notably at those with Lord French and General Friend, he made the point that it was most desirable to let the people of Dublin see the troops marching about the streets.

The next witness was Lord Midleton, who told in detail the efforts he had made to warn the Government. Early in 1915 he had called attention to the illegal organisation called the Irish Volunteer Force, which did not take the oath of allegiance, did not use the Union Jack, and had no right to exist. Lord Crewe, in reply, had minimised the increase of the organisation. About the middle of November, 1915, he saw Mr. Birrell, and pressed upon him the position in the South and the West of Ireland. He strongly urged that the Volunteers should be disarmed, and that seditious speakers should be brought to account. Mr. Birrell said, in effect, that the Sinn Fein organisation and drilling were to be laughed at and need not be taken seriously. To take notice of speeches

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by crack-brained enthusiasts and priests would only halt the slow growth of loyalty in Ireland. Mr. Birrell expressed some fear of the use of bombs, but not of revolutionary trouble. The Government were watching closely and were advised from day to day of the actions of the Sinn Feiners, but Mr. Birrell said more harm than good would be done by attempting to suppress them, as it would probably end in shooting, and would divide the country during the war. Sir Matthew Nathan was no less convinced than Mr. Birrell that nothing should be done. On January 20th he saw Mr. Birrell again in London, and specifically called his attention to speeches made a week before by Father O'Flanagan suggesting that Ireland should become an independent country in alliance with Germany, and also to a circular that was being distributed in Ireland. Mr. Birrell suggested that he should go over and see General Friend on the subject. He further said that Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon were against taking any notice of



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the seditious utterances. He was convinced there would be no armed rising. On January 26th he saw the Prime Minister and brought all the facts before him. Mr. Asquith asked him to draw up a memorandum and undertook to make a careful examination of the whole matter. That memorandum was sent. Lord Midleton then read a letter which he received from Mr. Birrell, in which it was stated: "In Ireland you have heard strong priests and crack-brained people making speeches and passing resolutions which in England would bring down not the terror of the law, but the rage of the mob." They could not rely on a jury in Ireland, but the letter went on to express Mr. Birrell's opinion that to proclaim the Irish Volunteers as an illegal body, and to attempt to put them down by force, would be a reckless, foolish act, and promote disloyalty. The next step was the formation of a committee in Dublin. It was composed of gentlemen of high standing, not all of Unionist politics, connected with three of the provinces

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in Ireland, and who had an intimate knowledge of conditions in these provinces. That committee recommended that charges under the Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland should be tried by the military, that immediate action should be taken against the printers of journals against recruiting, and that the Irish Volunteers should be suppressed and their arms and explosives confiscated. The substance of that report was sent to Mr. Birrell, omitting the reference to the suppression of the Irish Volunteers, because Mr. Birrell had stated that could not be entertained by the Government. He had not been able to submit the report to the Prime Minister. He again wrote to Mr. Birrell on March 15th, and impressed on him that some notice should be taken of the report. He also saw Sir Matthew Nathan. He pointed out the danger of inaction, and also that Mr. Redmond, whether he knew of it or not, was in danger of his life. Finally, six days before the outbreak he had an interview with the Lord Lieutenant, and gave him

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the gravest warning possible of the probable results of inaction. Lord Wimborne appeared more impressed than he had been in an interview six weeks before.

Lord Wimborne was next called, and defined the position of the Lord Lieutenant in the Government of Ireland. Since the Chief Secretary became a member of the Cabinet he and the Permanent Under-Secretary had absorbed the powers of the Lord Lieutenant. The Lord Lieutenant had no independent information apart from that which reached him from Castle sources, and no executive machinery for asserting his views should they conflict with those of his colleagues. The doctrine of the Lord Lieutenant's total irresponsibility was held by the late Secretary. Very soon after assuming office he had reason to complain of the complete dissociation of the Lord Lieutenant from the administration, and asked to have a clear definition of his position. He pointed out the absurdity of the Lord Lieutenant having to rely upon the Press for his knowledge of current ad-

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ministration and practical events, which resulted from his being kept in ignorance of subjects constantly referred to by those with whom he came into contact during his tours. After repeated representations he did succeed in obtaining a personal insight into the Irish administration. He had several conversations with General Friend as to the military resources. He was then thinking more of enemy raids than of internal disturbance. At the War Office on December 13th, he pressed Lord Kitchener for reinforcements. On March 23rd, he pressed Lord French to send a division to Ireland. The following week he told Lord French (who had objected to sending a division owing to the delay it would cause) that what was worrying him was that they had not enough of troops in Ireland in case of internal disorder. Lord Wimborne then described how on April 18th he was shown by the Under-Secretary a letter conveying the information from the Admiral at Queenstown that a ship with two German submarines was due to arrive



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on May 21st. It was also stated that a rising was timed for Easter Eve, but that the Admiral was sceptical of this intention. The Admiralty did not communicate directly with the Irish Government. Subsequent events revolutionised the situation. When the facts therefore established communication between Sinn Feiners and the enemy, he urged that the ringleaders should be arrested. Discussion afterwards took place as to the feasibility of a raid on Liberty Hall. He urged that a raid unaccompanied by arrests would be provocative. The Under-Secretary disagreed about the arrests on the ground of illegality, and it was decided not to go forward with the raid on Liberty Hall on Sunday night. He asked the Chief Commissioner to furnish him with a list of the chief suspects and urged on the Under-Secretary the need for immediate action. On Easter Monday at 10 a.m. the Under-Secretary called with a report that Bailey, who had landed with Casement, had been arrested, that a man named Monteith was still at



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large, that a rising had been planned for that day, and that the Castle was to be attacked. He urged the strengthening of the Castle guard. He was of opinion, however, in view of the disorganisation of the Sinn Fein plans, that the rising would not take place. The Under-Secretary also read him a cipher telegram from Mr. Birrell agreeing to the arrests being made. "I had completed a letter to the Chief Secretary, and was in the act of writing to the Prime Minister," said Lord Wimborne, "when at 12.30 we had a telephone message from the Chief Constable saying that the Castle had been attacked, the Post Office seized, St. Stephen's Green occupied, and that the insurgents were marching on the Viceregal Lodge. I wrote to the Chief Secretary saying :—'The worst has happened, just when we thought it averted. If only we had acted last night with decision and arrested the leaders as I wanted it might have been averted.'"

He made it clear they must have troops—at least a brigade, and he would prefer a division.

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Asked what powers the Lord Lieutenant possessed over the military, Lord Wimborne replied that the position was rather curious. The name of the Viceroy appeared in the Army list of the Irish command, but with no rank of any kind connected with it. When the trouble began General Friend was not in Ireland. He left on the Thursday before for England on short leave. It was part of the system in Ireland that everybody seemed to be away. There was no co-ordination. General Friend arrived on Tuesday morning. There had, of course, been a good many previous false alarms, and at noon on Easter Monday it did not look like a revolution. His belief was that the whole thing was an eleventh-hour decision, or they would have started earlier. He never anticipated a rebellion—it seemed too incredible unless foreign assistance was relied upon. After sitting three days in London the Commission proceeded to Dublin on Thursday, May 27th, for the purpose of hearing evidence there. The remarkable

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revelations by the ex-Under-Secretary, the ex-Chief Secretary, and by Lord Wimborne, the three men responsible in the main for the Government of Ireland, aroused great public interest. Combined with the fact that no announcement was made for weeks after their resignations were published of their successors, and taking into account also Mr. Asquith's mysterious visits to Dublin, Belfast and Cork, it was not surprising to find rumours in circulation that some drastic change was in contemplation in connection with the Government of Ireland.



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